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NAPOLEON
IN CARICATURE

NAPOLEON
IN CARICATURE

Js. Gillray.

THE CARICATURE SHOP OF MISTRESS HUMPHREY IN ST. JAMES'S STREET, LONDON, 1797-1821.

NAPOLEON IN CARICATURE

1795–1821

BY

A. M. BROADLEY

JOINT AUTHOR OF "NAPOLEON AND THE INVASION OF ENGLAND"
"DUMOURIEZ AND THE DEFENCE OF ENGLAND AGAINST NAPOLEON"
"NELSON'S HARDY: HIS LIFE, LETTERS, AND FRIENDS," ETC. ETC.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY ON

PICTORIAL SATIRE AS A FACTOR IN NAPOLEONIC HISTORY

BY

J. HOLLAND ROSE, LITT.D.CANTAB.

AUTHOR OF "A LIFE OF NAPOLEON," "NAPOLEONIC STUDIES"
"THE MAKING OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONS," ETC.

WITH NEARLY 250 ILLUSTRATIONS, 24 IN COLOUR

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. I

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TO

VICTOR ALBERT FRANCIS CHARLES SPENCER

VISCOUNT CHURCHILL, G.C.V.O.

CHAIRMAN OF THE GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY

THESE VOLUMES

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INSCRIBED BY THE AUTHOR

THE KNAPP

JUNE 18TH 1910

PREFACE

THE subject of Napoleon in Caricature, instructive, interesting, and practically inexhaustible as it unquestionably is, has never yet been dealt with either as a whole or from an international point of view. There is no work in existence entirely devoted either to the history or the description of the numerous satiric prints concerning Napoleon Bonaparte which appeared in France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Spain, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia between 1795 and 1821. Such printed information as does exist consists of isolated chapters in books like Champfleury's *Histoire de la Caricature;* Dayot's *Napoléon, Le Musée de la Caricature en France* (1838); Fuchs's *Die Karikatur der europaischen Volker;* John Grand-Cartaret's *Les Mœurs et La Caricature en Allemagne, en Autriche, en Suisse,* and *Les Mœurs et La Caricature en France;* Hermann's *Die deutsche Karikatur;* and Schulze's *Die Franzosenzeit in deutschen landen* (1806–1815). In most cases the story of the pictorical satire relating to Bonaparte as General, Consul, Emperor, and Exile, is confined to one or two chapters wedged in somewhat clumsily between those dealing with the Revolution, and the apparently more attractive topics of the ridicule which killed Charles X., and the pear-faces which did so much to discredit Louis Philippe and pave the way for the Second Empire. Champfleury,

the most liberal of all the French authorities I have mentioned, gives the matter just one hundred small octavo pages out of five volumes! He does very little else than summarise the achievements of Rowlandson and Gillray, and emphasise the part they played in the ultimate discomfiture of "Little Boney." Although hundreds of French caricatures, both for and against Napoleon, appeared in 1814 and 1815, he does not reveal either the name of a single artist or that of a single publisher.

In the *Musée de la Caricature en France*, which appeared at the time when Louis Philippe was beginning to encourage the Napoleonic cult, not more than a dozen plates are invested, either directly or indirectly, with Napoleonic interest. In the case of Russia, Holland, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland one is compelled in despair to fall back on library catalogues or the prints to be found in public or private collections, possibly the best source of information as far as they go. Twenty years ago the late Mr. Joseph Grego is supposed to have begun a book somewhat on the lines now indicated, but it never appeared, although it is referred to by M. John Grand-Cartaret.

The supreme importance of the caricature, both to the historian and the student of history, is sufficiently demonstrated by Dr. Holland Rose, not only in his *Life of Napoleon*, but in the introduction he has contributed to these volumes, after a careful examination of the satiric prints in possession of the writer.

In the early days of the French Revolution the power of the caricature was speedily recognised by all parties. It was this particular form of ridicule, exercised so unmercifully in 1789 and 1790, which did much to prepare

public opinion for the great upheaval of 1793. It soon became the favourite weapon of rival politicians. As early as 1791, we find Jean Paul Marat writing to a friend suggesting the best way of caricaturing Bailly and Lafayette.

No sooner had Louis XVI. perished on the scaffold than the professional satirists of the sans-culottes turned their attention to John Bull, George III., and Pitt. In coarseness and brutality they out-Gillrayed Gillray. A number of these prints may be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale. They continued to appear in rapid succession for many years, and doubtless did much to stimulate the ideas of invasion and reprisals.

The readers of M. Henry Lecomte's *Napoléon et l'Empire, racontés par le Théâtre*, will realise how adroitly the dramatic stage was systematically used by Napoleon as a source of power and influence. Similar ideas prompted him to patronise and encourage the caricaturist, and even to suggest subjects for his pencil. After his return from Egypt the French satirical draughtsmen were egged on to extend their sphere of operations to Queen Charlotte, the Dukes of York and Cambridge, to Nelson, and even less important officials, like Acton at Naples, and Drake, the too-credulous British representative at Munich.

These inspired prints, however, were rather devoted to the vilification of Napoleon's enemies than to his own direct glorification. They cannot be described in those volumes, which treat only of caricatures affecting, directly or indirectly, the personality of Napoleon or in which allusion is made to him, or to his wives, son, or family. It is only by laying down this restriction

and adhering to it that anything like finality can be hoped for. There is a wide difference between "Napoleon in Caricature" and the "Caricatures of the Napoleonic era."

Napoleon was certainly more extensively caricatured than any man who ever lived; his powerful opponent, Pitt (although he died ten years before Waterloo), can fairly claim the second place in this connection, although George III., Fox, and Wellington all run him very closely. Possibly Dr. Holland Rose's forthcoming *Life of Pitt* will justify the publication of some such book as *Pitt in British and Foreign Caricature*, a work for which abundant material undoubtedly exists. In gathering from every available source the illustrations necessary for *Napoleon in Caricature*, the writer has incidentally accumulated a large quantity of French prints satirising Pitt, many of which were doubtless suggested and paid for by the First Consul. Their constant theme was the lavish expenditure of British gold for the encouragement of the various Coalitions formed for the purpose of checking Napoleon's policy of conquest and aggression.

So numerous are the caricatures in which Napoleon either figures personally or is the objective of allusion that any detailed description of the whole, or even the greater part of them, becomes obviously impossible. To attempt such a task would seriously militate against the writer's endeavour to enlist for this book the interest of the general reader, as well as the sympathy of the collector and the expert. Fortunately, it so happens that the lives and works of Rowlandson, Gillray, and Cruikshank (naming them according to their seniority by birth), the three principal English caricaturists of

Napoleon, have been more or less adequately dealt with by five competent authors,[1] who, without laying the emphasis one would have expected on this particular sphere of activity on the part of their heroes, have, in turn, given us some kind of a pen-picture of each plate acknowledged by or ascribed to the artists in question. It therefore becomes possible to indicate occasionally the whereabouts of information and descriptive matter which lack of space renders it impossible to insert in these volumes.

In a former work[2] the writer has bestowed special attention on those Napoleonic caricatures which directly relate to the threatened invasion of England (1796–1806) and the incidents of the Great Terror. It will be unnecessary to repeat what has already been said concerning them, although they will all find a place in the general lists given as Appendices. An endeavour will be made in these pages to bring into strong relief those caricatures which are typical of the general scheme of this form of attack on Napoleon, or which throw new light either on his public or private life, or the state of public feeling concerning him. Prominence will be given to several prints, which, notwithstanding their obvious interest and importance, are either wholly or partially unknown.

The writer has no intention to build up upon the foundations laid by the caricaturist a comic his-

[1] *Rowlandson the Caricaturist*, by Joseph Grego. *Historical Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, by T. Wright and R. H. Evans. *The Works of George Cruikshank*, by G. W. Reid. *The Works of George Cruikshank Classified and Arranged*, by Captain R. J. H. Douglas, R.N.

[2] *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, by H. F. B. Wheeler and A. M. Broadley, 2 vols. Illustrated. London. John Lane, 1908.

tory of Napoleon—an enlarged edition in prose, as it were, of the *Hudibrastic Poem* (sad doggerel it must be confessed !) which Combe provided for the graphic illustrations of George Cruikshank. As far as it becomes necessary to do so, he is content to delve in the mine of information which Dr. Holland Rose's *Life of Napoleon* affords, supplemented, as this standard authority now is, by the invaluable *Itinéraire Général de Napoléon 1er* of M. Albert Schuermans, published two years since in Paris.

There have been collectors of Napoleonic caricatures, both in Europe and the United States, from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Louis Philippe was himself a collector, and some of the rarest French prints, now in possession of the writer, came quite lately from the Chateau d'Eu. The collection of the late M. Victorien Sardou (now dispersed) was small but choice. The collections of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris are scarcely as extensive as one would expect, but some very scarce French prints are to be found in the Musée Carnavalet. The German Public Libraries have apparently paid very little attention to the subject, notwithstanding the wealth of patriotic caricature which characterised the years 1813–15, and the conspicuous ability displayed by several German artists during the national uprising.

In the State Library at Berne there is a copy of the Anton Dunker series of satiric prints of 1797–99. The writer has failed to find any trace of Danish or Norwegian caricatures relating to Napoleon at either Copenhagen or Christiania, nor are Swedish caricatures of Napoleon as numerous as one might reasonably expect. A few,

is rapidly becoming prohibitive. Since the Fraser sale of 1901 they have doubled, and in some instances quadrupled, in value. After nine years' labour in this attractive but expensive form of research the writer is bound to confess that anything like absolute finality is unattainable, although he has conscientiously tried to get as near to it as possible. So deep and far-reaching was the detestation or terror inspired by Napoleon between the late autumn of 1795 and the early summer of 1815, that caricatures, hitherto unknown and unsuspected, frequently come to light and often in wholly unlooked-for places. In Ashton's *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I.* (1884) only 350 English prints are enumerated. M. John Grand-Carteret, in his *Napoleon en Images. Estampes Anglaises* (1895), describes no more than 366. The writer has succeeded in tracing no less than 990. It must be remembered that these figures, as far as the first eighteen chapters of this work are concerned, include only those plates relating in some way or another to Napoleon which were published in England and are the work of English artists. That England should have led the army of anti-Napoleon caricaturists might reasonably be expected, when we remember the dogged determination of King George, the calm persistence of Pitt, and the huge sacrifices made during twenty years by the British tax-payer. It was, as has already been pointed out, precisely this constant outpouring of British gold which formed the favourite theme of the caricaturists in Napoleon's pay, but which, by the irony of fate, possibly contributed more than anything else to his final discomfiture.

A. M. BROADLEY.

THE KNAPP, BRADPOLE,
June 18, 1910.

INTRODUCTION

PICTORIAL SATIRE AS A FACTOR IN NAPOLEONIC HISTORY

"LE ris est le propre de l'homme," says Rabelais; and the history of literature and of art bears witness to the truth of the assertion. The earliest known forms of art are so grotesquely imitative as to suggest a sense of fun in the cave-dwellers. Primitive poetry also often descended from the doings of gods and heroes to sport with dwarfs or gnomes. In either case the motive is at bottom much the same. Man has always delighted in gibes and jests. The dullness of the cave or the lake-dwelling must be enlivened with jokes either in verse or in drawing. Thus can the chief, merry with ale, while away the long evening and live over again amidst his women-folk the joys of triumph over his defeated and disgraced rival. Mocking doggerel and mocking sketches, we may be sure, are as old as the race. They added zest to the efforts of the early bards. Possibly they are the fountain-head of art.

It is therefore with something primitive, innate, and almost savage that we are concerned in these volumes. Caricature has always existed and will always exist, for it is the laughter of art. Milton in his gayer moods could in spirit hie away—

> "to the spicy nut-brown ale
> With stories told of many a feat
> How Faëry Mab the junkets eat.

> She was pinched and pulled, she said ;
> And he, by Friar's lantern led,
> Tells how the drudging goblin sweat
> To earn his cream-bowl duly set."

If the grave Puritan poet could delight in

> " Sport that wrinkled care derides
> And laughter holding both his sides,"

how much more so beings akin to Aristophanes, Plautus, Rabelais, and Calverley? Some artists there are who must sometimes sport even with the most serious subject —witness Holbein's *Dance of Death.*

But obviously some eras are far better suited to the growth of pictorial satire than others. Its successful production depends on much besides the personality and skill of the draughtsman. If his work is to hit the mark —and no sphere of art is so local and topical—he must sharply body forth the life of the time. Assuredly he will fail, however great his inventiveness, unless that life be stirring, keen, abounding in appeals to the primitive instincts of man. It is also needless to point out that Bastilles must be in ruins and the hangman's fire extinct before the draughtsman and his work can flourish and endure. Another condition less obvious, but scarcely less necessary, is that the processes of artistic reproduction shall have been so far developed as to favour the spread of the original drawing, and yet not so far cheapened as to blur the personality of the artist. Possibly the climax of these favouring conditions has been already reached and passed. But it would be alike ungracious and futile to take up the burden of Fleet Street, and to descant upon the decline of pictorial satire.

Certain it is that the era treated in these volumes enjoyed in a unique degree all the conditions favourable to the growth of caricature. This will appear if we glance rapidly at the fluctuations of the art in earlier periods. Limiting our survey to the best-known nations and times, we speedily notice the all-important fact that satire in literature sharply competes with satire in art. To some peoples, and perhaps to the most gifted peoples, lampoons in verse were more soul-satisfying than satirical sketches. So far as we can judge, this was so with the ancient Greeks. Their marvellous language—the vehicle of all possible effects ranging from quiet beauty and rapt meditation to swift action, raging passion and ineffable scorn—invited them to throw their jests and scoffs into words. Above all, their dramatic representations, which originated in the gibing or mournful doggerel sung at the Dionysiac festivals, beckoned their satirists to the stage rather than to the studio. Then again, their sense of Art, as something almost divine, probably revolted at the notion of expressing scoffs in pictures. True, their sculptors chiselled Pan and his satyrs as well as Diana and her nymphs, thereby reminding us that the loftiest art ever known had its merry flings. But, so far as we know, the Greeks reverenced art too much to make it the channel of personal abuse. Much the same may be said of the Romans. With them also art was in the main a handmaid of religion; and it is doubtful whether the comic figures on their jars and pavements were anything more than *jeux d'esprit*. However, we know so little about the homelier side of the art of Greece and Rome that it is unsafe to dogmatise. We can only say their satire was preponderatingly

literary and not pictorial. The well-known line of Juvenal

"facit indignatio versus"

probably applies to very many other aspirants for fame. Certainly the elaborate art that winged the shafts of Martial's satirical couplets bespeaks a distinct trend alike in the national genius and in the customs of that age.

In the Middle Ages we find a more even balance. Literature has its jests and gibes, but so too have art and architecture. The monkish masons who toiled at the great minsters put holy glee into their gargoyles; and it would seem that the lesser figures at the sides of psalters were sometimes the outcome of chastened hilarity. But the Middle Ages did not produce caricature. Subservience to Mother Church was still too great an influence to warrant artists, either of the pen or of the brush, wandering off down the merry glades still echoing with the laughter of Pan. If they did so they seldom returned. Thus, only with the advent of the Renaissance and "humanism" do we find any considerable development of conscious pictorial satire. The growth of knowledge, the discovery of the New World, which so largely freed men's minds from bondage to the Old World, the Reformation and its ensuing strifes—all these influences favoured the output of personalities in sketch. Certainly, around the figures of Luther and Pope Alexander VI. caricature played with surprising liberty; and we find in the years 1520–40 the first considerable output of pictorial satire.

The art languished during the ensuing Catholic reaction; and not until the Dutch made their bold stand

for freedom against the Spaniards is any revival noteworthy. Then, however, the intense patriotism of the Dutch patriots, their innate genius for art, and skill in reproduction (the latter a condition entirely lacking in classical times) produced by far the greatest number of caricatures that the world had seen. This was but natural. The struggle of a small people against a world-power necessarily spurs it on to all forms of activity. The tension of public opinion gives rise to ballads and squibs in the literary sphere or to sketches that vilify the enemy and exalt the horn of the patriots. It is a commonplace to assert that the struggle of England against Philip of Spain called forth the full energies of our race in literature. The ballad was the defiance flung back by Londoners against the Armada, and the ballad was the crude forerunner of the work of the great Elizabethans. In Holland (so subtle are the causes that differentiate national life) the genius of the people turned rather to pictorial satire ; and the Dutch entered roughly but forcefully on their long career of artistic successes. The triumphs of one age may generally be traced, in part at least, to the crude efforts of a half-barbarous time. The tragedies of Sophocles were the lineal progeny of the doggerel sung by the goat-like satyrs in honour of their god, Dionysus. The warlike ballads of the Tudor times and earlier opened anew the well-spring of poesy from which Shakespeare and Milton drank to the full, and in the crude sketches of the time of the " Beggars " Dutch art awoke to a sense of real life.

Meanwhile caricature made little headway in England and France, but for very different reasons. The islanders,

as we have seen, found the natural expression of their feelings in ballads, plays, and also, at the time of the Puritans, in controversial pamphlets, though these were frequently adorned by grotesque sketches of the villain of the piece. In France similar feelings struggled for expression only to find themselves choked by the Government. The League, the Kings and Richelieu between them succeeded in stunting the growth of caricature, to which French genius is so remarkably suited. Consequently in the wars between Louis XIV. and the Dutch, the weaker party enjoyed nearly all the inspiration or comfort which can be derived from pictorial vilification of the foe. The value of this as a political asset is undiscoverable, but in a contest which came to depend mainly on the doggedness of the combatants it is not to be despised.

The personal unpopularity of " Dutch William " here in England may perhaps be assigned as part cause why the caricature never took hold of the English mind until the reign of Queen Anne. Then the trial of Sacheverell produced not only *Lillibulero* but caricatures galore. Most noteworthy from our standpoint is the production of Dr. Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull* in 1711–12. We quote the most important parts of the sketch of that national portent :—

" Bull in the main was an honest, plain-dealing fellow, choleric, bold, and of a very unconstant temper ; he dreaded not old Lewis, either at backsword, single falchion, or cudgel-play ; but then he was very apt to quarrel with his best friends, especially if they pretended to govern him ; if you flattered him you might lead him like a child. John's temper depended very much upon

the air; his spirits rose and fell with the weather-glass. John was quick, and understood his business very well; but no man alive was more careless in looking into his accounts, or more cheated by partners, apprentices, and servants. This was occasioned by his being a boon companion, loving his bottle and his diversion, for, to say truth, no man kept a better house than John, nor spent his money more generously.

. . . . . .

"John had a sister (Scotland), a poor girl that had been starved at nurse; anybody would have guessed Miss to have been bred up under the influence of a cruel step-dame, and John to be the fondling of a tender mother. John looked ruddy and plump, with a pair of cheeks like a trumpeter; Miss looked pale and wan as if she had the green sickness, and no wonder; for John was the darling; he had all the good bits, was crammed with good pullet, chicken, pig, goose, and capon, while Miss had only a little oatmeal and water or a dry crust without butter. John had his golden pippins, peaches, and nectarines; poor Miss a crab-apple, sloe, or a blackberry. Master lay in the best apartment with his bedchamber toward the south sun. Miss lodged in a garret, exposed to the north wind which shrivelled her countenance; however, this usage, although it stunted the girl in her growth, gave her a hardy constitution; she had life and spirit in abundance, and knew when she was ill-used; now and then she would seize upon John's commons, snatch a leg of pullet or a bit of good beef, for which they were sure to go to fisty-cuffs."

Fortunately for the peace of the two kingdoms, Arbuthnot's caustic description of Scotland never caught the popular taste, but John Bull thenceforth came to figure more and more as the typical Englishman. This

invention was to be a godsend for English caricaturists, possibly also for the people as a whole ; for it strengthens a nation to have a good conceit of itself ; and the bluff farmer, coarse in feature, sturdy in limb, peppery in temper, but dogged in will, became a source of strength to the nation in times of strain and stress. The type was undeniably coarse. But what of that ? The age was coarse. It liked strong men, strong victuals, above all, strong drink. And so a people which is not above all others coarse, or sturdy, or peppery, or dogged, came to believe itself the incarnation of these qualities. The type has been refined since the eighteenth century. John Bull is now the gentleman farmer (who scarcely exists !) ; then he was a rather loutish version of the yeoman, that simple, companionable, hard-working creature, whom we find more true to life in Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* than in the half-swinish figure of the early caricatures of Gillray.

Still, there was John Bull ready to hand, a figure repulsive from its gluttony, formidable from its thews and sinews, certainly not from brain-power. Occasionally, by an unconscious copying of the statues of Assyrian kings, the head figures on a bull's body ; and once or twice George III., by a not unnatural impersonation, appears as the national monster. It only needed a touch of genius to endow the figure with political vitality and make it a force in the long struggle between the Island Power and Napoleon. That was the work of Gillray and Rowlandson.[1]

This is not the place for an appreciation of the work

[1] See "The Evolution of John Bull," by A. M. Broadley, *Pearson's Magazine*, May 1909.

of these caricaturists and others of lesser note. That will be found in Mr. Broadley's narrative, which follows. My aim has been to sketch the rise of caricature as a political force, and to point out some of the conditions which further its growth. The reader must by this time have observed signs and tokens pointing to unusually favourable conditions in the England of the Napoleonic era. In the sphere of art Hogarth had prepared the way for a truly national revival, or indeed we may say that he created an English school of painting and opened a new era in the artistic world; for his keen perception, trenchant realism, and homely forcefulness dealt the death-blow to the feeble affectations and sickly conventionalism which had sterilised the creations of the early decades of the eighteenth century. Certainly he opened up an inexhaustible field for English painters; and, had the political conditions of his time been favourable to caricature of the types which we are now considering, he might have excelled as a pictorial satirist of our public life. It is, however, as a pictorial moralist of our social life that he won his laurels. He was the Dr. Johnson of art. Nevertheless, his style prepared the way for political satire; and the heritage of his sturdy style meant much for Gillray and Rowlandson.

Then, again, the England of the end of the eighteenth century was patriotic. True, Jacobinism was still a force to be reckoned with, but it began to wane in proportion as the victories of Bonaparte in Italy (1796–97) reft us of our allies; first, Sardinia, then Austria. As the national danger increased, the old national feeling asserted itself; and in the early part of 1798, when Bonaparte surveyed the preparations for invasion at Boulogne and

neighbouring ports, Britons were in the main resolved to beat him back at all costs. The enthusiasm which the young Radical poets, Wordsworth and Coleridge, felt for the French Revolution in its better days utterly vanished when the Republic went out of its way to strangle liberty in the central Swiss cantons, and to rifle their treasuries on behalf of Bonaparte's Egyptian Expedition.

> "O France! that mockest heaven, adulterous, blind,
> Are these thy boasts, Champion of human-kind,
> To mix with Kings in the low lust of sway,
> Yell in the hunt and join the sensual prey?"

So wrote Coleridge in *France: an Ode* (1798), in the earlier stanzas of which he had sung the praises of the Revolution with unstinted fervour. The change of tone in him, as also in Wordsworth and Southey, is most significant. It meant that thenceforth the nation spoke with no uncertain sound; and in such a case, the art of the caricaturist gains in vivacity and forcefulness. He is the mouthpiece, not of a party, but of the whole people.

Finally, both George III. and Pitt were popular. The self-restraint exhibited by the King in most questions after the advent of Pitt to power, at the close of 1783, altered the verdict of the people concerning him. No longer was he deemed the cause of our misfortunes as at the time of the American War. He gained in popularity amidst the party strifes of the years 1784–85; and the attack of lunacy of 1788–89 awakened genuine alarm, from the fear that the Prince of Wales and his favourite, Fox, would seize on power. The recovery of the King in February 1789 called forth an outburst of

loyalty such as had not been seen since the reign of Anne; and in that feeling Britons were confirmed so soon as the Jacobinism awakened by the French Revolution died away under the blighting influence of the events just described. Fox and the "New Whigs," who in 1794 broke away from the "Old Whigs," were considered a small and contemptible minority. Thenceforth, Fox appears in caricature as a bloated figure with puffy cheeks and hangdog looks; Sheridan, equally bloated, with huge nose and blotchy cheeks; Whitbread, a coarse figure with a malignant leer, holding a pot of porter. Over against them stands Pitt, lean, virtuous, radiant with integrity and a sense of coming triumph. In the Foxite caricatures of the years 1794–96 he figures as a tax-grinder, with hints that he, Henry Dundas, and Burke themselves rake in the spoils. But with these caricatures, as they do not represent Napoleon, we are not concerned in this work. For the most part the policy of Pitt found increasingly staunch support. It was allowed by all but a few Foxites that he had made all possible efforts to come to reasonable terms with France in the summer and early autumn of 1797, and the failure of those negotiations at Lille left England no option but to fight on to the bitter end. After the renewal of war in 1803, Wordsworth (the erstwhile friend and champion of the Girondists) wrote to the men of Kent—

> "No parleying now! In Britain is one breath;
> We all are with you now from shore to shore;
> Ye men of Kent, 'tis victory or death."

That was the conviction and resolve which Rowlandson, Gillray, Woodward, and the two Cruikshanks fed by their

virile sketches, many new or little-known examples of which are given in the present volumes. As to the impression produced on foreigners even after this lapse of time (and time takes the edge from caricature more than from any kind of pictorial art), we may quote the words of M. John Grand-Carteret: "La caricature anglaise, très certainement la plus puissante, la plus expressive, la plus variée de toutes les satires crayonnées." The author rightly reprobates the ignoble exultation over a fallen foe which distorts the sketches of the time of Elba and St. Helena; but he rightly asserts that the earlier efforts were so many battalions sent to the Continent, ever worrying Napoleon and raising the spirits of his enemies.[1]

Turning our attention more particularly to France and French caricatures, we find a different state of things and different pictorial effects. Caricature had existed in France since the Middle Ages, whenever the authorities in Church and State allowed it. But the art led an intermittent and chequered existence. Its application to politics was, as we have seen, the work of the Dutch. Nevertheless, at the time of the Fronde (1648–53), so rich in semi-farcical incidents, we find the French genius asserting itself vivaciously in caricature either for or against the Court. On the whole, however, the long and brilliant reign of Louis XIV. was not so fertile in caricature as the sprightly genius of the nation would have led us to expect.

"A despotism tempered by epigrams"—such is a witty description of the *ancien régime* in France. Epigram, then, not caricature, was the saving influence

[1] *Napoléon en Images*, by John Grand-Carteret, pp. 27, 28. Paris, 1895. Firmin-Didot.

of the time. This can readily be understood. The French intellect flashes forth wit as the stars their rays. The language, too, has the fine edge and polish of Greek. Satire, therefore, flows forth quickly into speech, whereas peoples weighted with slower brains and a heavier tongue body it forth in pictures. Moreover, the influence of the Court tended to exalt the *bon mot*. Through that restless, brilliant throng, half butterflies, half wasps, a happy phrase or biting jest flew winged and gained a half-hour's glory for the coiner. A satirical sketch is lasting, but it does not bring the instantaneous burst of applause that greets the epigram. There is much of worldly wisdom in that remark of an old courtier to a young aspirant: "You have only three things to do: Speak well of everybody; ask for every vacancy; and sit down when you can." In such a life the spoken word counts next to secret influence. And finally, where the efforts of a Court aspirant ended as often in the Bastille as in the King's Cabinet, it is no small thing to be able to abjure a spiteful phrase. To disown a caricature is less easy. For all these reasons the France of Louis XIV. and XV. excelled in wit and repartee rather than in pictorial satire.

Strange to say, the first part of the French Revolution brought no very marked revival of the art.[1] The mental energy of the time found vent in the newspapers and in pamphleteering. In truth, the deadly earnest of the struggle and the sharp Nemesis which befel any one who took the unlucky side or made a false hit, probably discouraged well-known artists from committing their feelings freely to the canvas or the sketch. One witty

[1] E. Bayard, *La Caricature et les Caricaturistes*, ch. i. Paris, 1900.

His correspondence shows that he looked on the art as an inferior department of the public press. There is little doubt that he early suggested subjects for caricature to his Minister of Police, and that suggestive personage handed them on to artists; but I have found no documentary proofs of Napoleon's demand for caricatures before the date May 30, 1805. On that day he scrawled a hasty and partly illegible letter to Fouché, whose skilful management of the Cadoudal-Pichegru plot had brought him back to the Ministry of Police. In order to understand its contents we must remember that the Emperor was at Milan, where he was crowned King of Italy—a step which was certain to enrage the Czar Alexander and the Emperor Francis II. The former of these sovereigns was known to be contemplating a close alliance with England for the maintenance of the balance of power, then seriously endangered by Napoleon's proceedings in Italy. This is how the French Emperor faced that grave international crisis :—

"To M. FOUCHÉ, Minister of Police.

"MILAN, 30*th May* 1805.

"I have told you what you are to think of the reports the English are endeavouring to spread, so as to give colour to the step taken by the Emperor of Russia. Yet the newspapers must not be permitted to take a line favourable to Russia, to that corrupt . . . weak and silly Cabinet. At this moment indeed, it is showing some spirit, but more from a feeling that it can do nothing, than from any other.

"A contrast must be drawn with the shameful position of the English. They must be compared to a besieged fortress. From the top of the towers on which

we see them, they fancy they will save the country (?). The Englishman, strong in the position of his army of observation, and in the space which separates him from his enemy, does not glance behind him. If he sees dust rise in the distance, he does not inquire whether it is raised by a convoy of provisions or an enemy. It is certain that in war as in love nothing is done without . . . [several illegible words]. In opposition to this, set the bravado and the cringing (?) of the Russians. Say they are a barbarous nation, whose strength is in its cunning; a nation without funds, which could not send 30,000 men to campaign outside its own borders without sacrificing them all.

"Have caricatures made: An Englishman, purse in hand, entreating the various Powers to take his money, &c. This is the real direction to give the whole business; and the huge care the English are taking to gain time by spreading false news, all the symptoms together, prove its extreme importance."[1]

It is not surprising that the Emperor Napoleon III., in giving to the world the correspondence of his uncle, took care to exclude this illuminating letter. The last sentences prove the determination of Napoleon to direct public opinion in France to a false conclusion, namely, that the Third Coalition then in process of formation did not in the least degree result from his own acts of aggrandisement and aggression in Italy and Germany, but solely from the desire of John Bull to buy up the

[1] From 1805 onwards the allegation of wholesale bribery against England, illustrated in various ways, forms the most conspicuous feature in the "inspired" French caricatures against England. This is exemplified in such prints as "Francis setting out for the War" (Appendix D, 115), "Prussian Puncture" (D, 268), "Lord Morpeth running away" (D, 205), and many others.—A. M. B.

Continental States and to egg them on to war against France. The whole trend of modern research has been to disprove these contentions. It is well known that Alexander of Russia and Francis of Austria were reluctant to go to war with so redoubtable an enemy as Napoleon, and, further, were on decidedly cool terms with England. Napoleon knew that he might have had peace on the Continent had he shown self-restraint in Italy. But he chose to proceed with his plans; and only four days after the drafting of the letter just quoted he issued orders for the annexation of the Genoese, or Ligurian, Republic, which he afterwards admitted was the final cause of the war with Austria and Russia.

The import of the letter to Fouché will now be clear. Napoleon does not in the least hesitate to throw down the gauntlet to these two Powers, provided that he can keep the warlike feelings of the French up to the proper pitch; and he intends to do so by means of newspaper articles and caricatures. The arguments and cartoons are alike designed to kindle the hatred of the French against the Islanders. The words of the second paragraph seem to point to pictorial representation; but the final suggestion—John Bull "purse in hand entreating the various Powers to take his money"—shows that amidst the vast sweep of Napoleon's powers were some which would to-day have given him a distinguished position on the staff of *Punch*.

In fact, this great manipulator of men, for whom the world was a chess-board, armies the heavy pieces, sovereigns the knights, and cities merely pawns, knew that the human race can be moved in mass only by the most imperious needs and instincts. Of these he made

effective use in the earlier and better part of his career when he gave back to France order, good government, and prosperity. But besides these elemental feelings there are others which, though secondary, are potent in towns (especially among the mobile, critical, vain populace of Paris), namely, love of praise and fear of ridicule. His methods, it will be observed, were borrowed partly from the Athens of Pericles, partly from the Rome of the late Empire. For the groundlings of the Faubourg St. Antoine he provided *panem et circenses* in the form of cheap corn and endless fêtes and parades. For the loiterers at the cafés he had state-regulated plays and caricatures prompted by himself and his officials. On the whole the caricatures were no less effective than his Press laws and far more so than his official plays. The French genius chafes at restraints on speech and literature; and even Louis XIV. respected this praiseworthy sensitiveness. Certainly the mobile Gallic mind will not work as a Pegasus in harness. Hence it came about that the Napoleonic newspapers ceased to interest when they failed to express the full life of the nation; and the plays dragged along their dull length because they were surcharged with the will of the chief and his underlings.

The reader will not understand the moral which underlies the expression of national life in caricature, as illustrated in this volume, unless he remembers that during the period of the Napoleonic Empire French life and thought lay under the meshes of an all-embracing imperial net. At school the boy learnt in the catechism that "to honour our Emperor and to serve him is therefore to honour and to serve God himself." This practical

Christianity was the outcome of the conviction which Napoleon once expressed to the Council of State. "I want a teaching body, because such a body never dies, but transmits its organisation and spirit. . . . There will never be fixity in politics if there is not a teaching body with fixed principles. As long as people do not from their infancy learn whether they ought to be republicans or monarchists the State will never form a nation." After leaving school the young Frenchman found a paternal Government eager to complete his education by means of the State-paid clergy and a State-controlled Press. As pictorial satire is a bypath of the newspaper Press midway between it and the more recognised avenues of artistic expression, we may well pause here to notice the relations of Bonaparte to the French Press and the increasing control which he kept over it.

Much might be said in favour of keeping a tight hand on the Press in the early days of the Consulate. There is no doubt that Royalists and Jacobins alike sought, by satires and misrepresentations in the public prints, to hinder the settlement of France on its new basis. Thibaudeau, a member of the Council of State in the years 1800–3, asserts that the Royalists, by means of their committee in Paris, secretly printed and circulated a paper called *L'Invisible*, full of the most odious insinuations against Bonaparte both as a ruler and a man. Still more venomous was a manuscript paper or Bulletin, which upheld the Bourbon cause by vilifying the First Consul and his ministers. The writer pretended to know how the ruler of France spent every hour of his life, and ascribed to him the meanest actions and motives.[1]

[1] *Bonaparte and the Consulate*, English edition, edited by Dr. G. K. Fortescue, pp. 210–12.

Accordingly, the control of the Press, which had been very strict at the time of the Jacobin ascendancy and again after the *Coup d'Etat* of Fructidor (October 1797), became still more rigorous in the early part of 1802; the outbreak of war with England in May 1803 led to the adoption of severe precautionary measures. Thus on June 3rd Napoleon dictated three letters for Régnier, Grand Judge and Minister of Justice. The first charged him to warn the *Journal des Débats* and the *Publiciste* not to give any news concerning armaments in Russian ports, as it came from German papers which had obviously been inspired from English sources with a view to dulling the ardour of the nation. Régnier was next ordered to reprimand severely the proprietors of the *Citoyen Français* for an article which tended to revive the spirit of party, and to advise them to change their editor unless they wished to see their newspaper suppressed. The third letter of June 3rd warned newspapers in general against giving any news respecting the French navy or the movements of corsairs and merchant ships. Editors were advised to limit their war news to that which was given by the official journal the *Moniteur*.[1] This was a severe blow to all non-official journals, which on the most important of all topics were compelled tamely to follow in the wake of the *Moniteur*.

It was at their peril that editors printed articles which had appeared in the German Press, though the German States were neutral up to the autumn of 1805. On December 26, 1803, we find Napoleon writing to Régnier as follows :—

"The *Débats* has published two articles dated from Germany. I wish to know whence these articles were

[1] *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. viii. pp. 334, 335.

derived, and who paid for alarming the nation with the echo of rumours spread by England. Order the *Débats* to contradict these false reports in a suitable manner. I am not more satisfied with the politics of the *Mercure*. I wish to know if the brothers Bertin, who have been constantly in the English pay, own the *Débats* and the *Mercure*. Do not conceal the fact that this is the last time I shall make known my displeasure, and that they will next learn the disapprobation of the Government by the suppression of their journals; that I know everything; that the brothers Bertin are paid by England, as is proved by the tone of their articles; that it is my intention to allow only those journals to exist which excite the nation against England and encourage it to support the vicissitudes of war."[1]

It is not surprising that the Press of Paris, which had shown so precocious a maturity in the days of Charles Joseph Panckouke and Camille Desmoulins, dwindled to eight newspapers in the year 1804.

As is well known, the Consulate for Life, established in August 1802, was replaced by the Empire on May 18, 1804. By a singular coincidence Pitt had become Prime Minister eight days earlier. Thus within a year from the declaration of war events brought to the height of power the protagonists of the two nations; and caricature soon felt the impulse of the keener national rivalry now embodied in those inspiring personalities. The character of Pitt aroused far more of enthusiasm and opposition from friends and foes than that of the tamely

[1] In his work *Die Karikatur der Europäishen Völker*, Edward Fuchs cites, as a proof of Napoleon's peculiar sensitiveness to satire, the fact that in 1802 he desired to introduce into the draft of the Treaty of Amiens a clause providing that persons who ventured to ridicule his person and policy should be treated as murderers or forgers, and be liable to extradition.—A. M. B.

correct Addington (the "doctor"), whom he replaced; just as the tip-tilted nose of the former suggested pride, self-confidence, and pugnacity, while the placid features and deferential manners of the latter promised faithful support, certainly not an inspiriting lead. Satire, whether in squib or in sketch, felt the change brought about by the restoration of Pitt to his natural abode in Downing Street, witness Canning's jingle—

> "Pitt is to Addington
> As London to Paddington."

Moreover, the new imperial régime at Paris, though it led to a tightening of the reins on the Press and therefore on caricature, furnished Gillray, Rowlandson, and Woodward with excellent materials for gibes at the uneasy splendours of the Corsican family, which had landed well-nigh penniless in Provence only eleven years before. The fun grew fast and furious at the time of the Coronation in Nôtre Dame (December 2, 1804).[1]

One of the advantages of a study of caricatures is the vivid realisation that one gains of the actual thoughts of the populace at any one time. History must be written partly according to the subject matter. Naval or military affairs cannot be minutely dovetailed into Court, diplomatic, or purely personal topics; otherwise the result would be a meaningless jumble—in short, a chronicle, not a history. But the caricature often brings persons and events together with the vividness of a *camera obscura*, and thereby connotes events which perhaps appeared far apart in a history written on a topical plan. Examples of this will occur to

[1] See Appendix A, 407 and 733.

the discerning reader as he turns over the following pages.

Or again he will see things from their under-side, so to speak. The following is a case in point. We generally think of the months October to December 1805 as lit up with a blaze of glory by Napoleon's exploits at Ulm, Vienna, and Austerlitz. But if we look into the life of Paris at that time, as shown in Memoirs of Fouché, Fiévée, Chaptal, Mollien, &c., we find it honeycombed with discontent, owing to the privations caused by war, scarcity of money, and imprudent speculations. The absence of the Emperor on the banks of the Danube enabled some newspapers to utter thin sounds of complaint and modest hopes for the return of peace. This was not because Frenchmen were discouraged by the news of the Battle of Trafalgar. The news of Nelson's last and greatest triumph reached the French Government on November 4; but Prince Joseph Bonaparte, who had been left in authority during his brother's absence, took care to suppress all mention of it in the *Moniteur*:[1] and the other journals did not venture to allude to it, despite the fact that the disaster soon became known in shipping and trading circles. Circumstances like these must be remembered because they explain not only the one-sidedness but also the vapidity of the French caricatures of this period, which turn partly on the triumphs of the eagle far away, but also refer as pointedly as possible to the discomfort at home. Freedom is the breath of life of the pictorial lampoon, as it is of its more august sister, the satirical poem. Poetasters are apt to lose tone when perpetually ordered to

[1] *Memoirs of Miot de Melito*, vol. ii. ch. v. p. 147 (English edition).

sing falsetto; and caricature languishes if the fresh gusts of truth are pumped in solely through that soporific medium, the official bulletin. Nevertheless, as we have said, there was a little grumbling in the Parisian Press. Napoleon after the victory of Austerlitz treated it as follows:—

"It is not peace that is important but the conditions on which it is made, and the subject is too complicated to be understood by the bourgeoisie of Paris. I am not in the habit of guiding my policy by the talk of Parisian idlers. My people will always be satisfied when I am. Either I carry out my words or I die. The same voices that to-day are crying out for peace would to-morrow condemn the conditions on which I had accepted it. The public mind must not be misled by the newspapers; I am greatly displeased with the *Journal de Paris* in particular, and with some articles it has lately published. Only fools or knaves could think or write in such a way." [1]

The articles in question were written by Roederer, a member of the Council of State, and were remarkable for their moderation. The caricatures of the winter of 1805–6 to some extent, but only with caution and reserve, illustrate the *malaise* and discontent of that time.

Nevertheless the French nation was dazzled by the glory won at Austerlitz and by the Treaty of Presburg which speedily followed. The marriage of Eugène Beauharnais with Princess Augusta of Bavaria now took place, though proposals to that effect had been slighted at Munich *before* Austerlitz. Prince Jerôme Bonaparte also gave up his American wife, Miss Patterson, and was

[1] *Memoirs of Miot de Melito*, vol. ii. p. 144 (English edition).

wedded to Princess Catherine of Würtemberg. The wise measures of Napoleon at Paris ended the financial crisis; and the French Press received a significant warning in the suppression of all the distinctively Catholic journals, which were to be merged in one religious paper called *Le Journal des Curés*, the editors of which were appointed by the Archbishop of Paris.[1] Thus it was that the duties of the censorship were simplified.

The marvellous successes of the Emperor in the year 1806 served to assure the subservience of the Press, and the Treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807) confirmed his position as the master of the Continent. Prussia lay at his feet; Russia was his ally; and he matured his schemes for the complete exclusion of British commerce from the Continent by means of the Continental System. The scorn felt by the British people for this attempt is vigorously illustrated by Woodward in his caricature of January 27, 1807. It shows John Bull clad in wool, with printed calico sleeves, Woodstock gloves, leathern breeches, stockings of "fleecy hosiery," and Staffordshire shoes. A kind of visor of porcelain of the same county covers his face, and his goggle eyes are of Derby porcelain. He brandishes a bar of Birmingham steel, and he has flung at Bonaparte over the Straits barrels of British spirits, Maidstone "Geneva," and London porter, besides two bars of pig iron, a knife and fork (presumably from Sheffield), a set of Birmingham buttons, a block of tin, a case of sugar, and a patent coffin for the burial of the Emperor. British ships are merrily sailing for the

[1] *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. xii. p. 17 (February 7, 1806). For other details see H. Welschinger, *La Censure sous le Premier Empire* (Paris, 1882), and similar works by MM. Le Poittevin and Van Schoor.

Continent; and the peaceful giant exclaims: "Blockade my country indeed! I'll show you the power of commerce!"[1]

It is interesting to compare this typically British production with a corresponding French cartoon, which shows the deluge of Napoleon's power, or of the Continental System, flooding the mainland and leaving John Bull far away in a stormy sea on which are seen here and there bales of his cottons and bombazine. In the foreground appear four regal figures: the Czar Alexander I. is clinging desperately to a breaking tree on the edge of a cliff; to his waist clings the Queen of Prussia (a malicious slander which aroused endless resentment at Berlin); to her clings her consort, Frederick William III.; and his frame bears up the half-drenched figure of the Elector of Hesse.[2] In vigour of conception and execution this caricature must rank high. It would be interesting to know whether it was officially inspired. So many of the attacks on the unfortunate Queen of Prussia came more or less directly from French officials after the occupation of Berlin in the autumn of 1806, that this may probably be classed as semi-official. It pointed the way to a long series of cartoons in which the invincibility of Napoleon, the folly of all who opposed him, and the sure doom of England are set forth with ingenuity and skill. Of a different order, and perhaps possessing more spontaneity, is the sketch of a French soldier after the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz (October 20 and December 2, 1805). It depicts the Austrian commander, Mack, with tottering knees, clasped hands, and streaming eyes, bewailing his hard fate at

[1] See A, 53. [2] See D, 303.

Ulm. From his pocket protrudes his "Plan of Campaign" (rigid adherence to which had caused the disaster). Behind him the sinuous line of his troops defiling from the fortress, and the broken bands farther afield, tell the tale of wholesale surrender or hopeless flight. Austerlitz is suggested by the figure of a French soldier who has Mack's ally, the Russian, by his wig, while the Gallic sword is at his vitals. In the distance across a ditch is a well-known form. John Bull groans and weeps in despair, as the money pours from his pockets all in vain.[1] As we look at this last item we remember Napoleon's directions to Fouché: "Have caricatures made: an Englishman purse in hand entreating the various Powers to take his money." After all then this soldier's sketch is not entirely original. He, too, that smart fellow of the Emperor's dragoons, in this dashing little sketch is only following (however unconsciously) the impulse given by the great magician.

Having now brought the reader to the years 1805–7, when Napoleon's genius began to overshadow the whole of Europe, we may well take the opportunity of diverging from the well-worn paths followed by English and French caricature, to glance at the salient features of the satirical efforts of the various nations now brought more or less directly under the control of Napoleon. The chief source of interest of the Napoleonic Era is that the marvellous force of one man brought together the destinies of all the European nations in a way never known before. Caricature then should mirror significantly the results of this singular grouping.

[1] See D, 213.

The Italian caricatures on Napoleon vary very markedly according to the changes of fortune of the years 1796–1815. In fact, the passive and subsidiary part which the Peninsula played in the midst of more powerful nations may be vividly realised when we notice the swift trend of caricatures towards Gallophile or pro-Napoleonic sentiment and back again to a cringing dependence on the Allies. One of the first (perhaps the first) of them reflects the enthusiasm of the spring days of 1796 when Bonaparte's trenchant blows were shearing asunder the Hapsburg possessions in Italy. The most prominent figure is the Austrian commander-in-chief, Beaulieu, whose white figure, conspicuous on a gigantic cray-fish (emblem of Austrian retreat), is facing the River Po in the midst of his troopers while the sinewy little frame of Bonaparte further up the stream is vehemently urging his cavalry to cross and turn the flank of the defenders.[1] The cartoon daringly bodies forth the hopes of the Italian Jacobins for the success (probably in the turning movement at Piacenza) of their *soi-disant* liberator and the stolidity of their Imperialist oppressors. Equally significant of the joy of the Lombards at the liberation of their province is a sketch showing Italians dancing joyously round trees of liberty crowned with the customary cap, while Bonaparte looks smilingly on. It is entitled—"Il faut danser," and is probably French in origin but Italian in execution.[2]

The time of disillusionment and indignation soon fell upon the liberated people; and the feeling aroused by the Treaty of Campo Formio between France and Austria (October 17, 1797), which handed over to the beaten

[1] F, 3. [2] D, 367.

Imperialists Venice and the eastern half of Venetia, is sharply mirrored in an allegorical incident. Bonaparte and the Archduke Charles seated in a carriage are about to leave the inn of Campo Formio when the host rushes out and demands payment. Bonaparte says nothing, and the Archduke merely says—"I have no money." Whereupon the servant behind exclaims in the Venetian dialect—"My Friend, I will pay." The Republic of Venice did in fact pay the expenses of the war to the Great Powers; for her mainland possessions went one-half to the Hapsburgs, the other to the Cisalpine Republic allied to France, while France herself acquired the Ionian Isles and the Venetian navy. Resentment against this betrayal thenceforth coloured Italian caricatures even when they emanated from districts like Lombardy, Modena, and the Romagna, which felt the benefits of French reforms and French administration.[1]

On the whole, French influence prevailed over that which favoured the Allies and political reaction; but the latter tendency finds very forcible expression in the years 1799 and 1814–15, which were marked by French reverses. To the year 1799 belongs a fine caricature showing Italy kneeling before Justice and the Allies—Russia, Austria, and Great Britain—begging for redress from her woes and peace and order for the future. On one side are Furies, &c., driving Bonaparte, his generals and officials, gorged with spoils, down into the jaws of a fire-breathing monster.[2] Lovers of accuracy will say—"How could that be, seeing that Bonaparte was then in the East?" The answer is—This would be to consider details too minutely. The caricaturist is not a

[1] F, 50. [2] F, 37.

historian. Bonaparte is consigned to Hell, though he was then probably in Syria, because he typified a system, and that system had for the present come to be synonymous with the oppressive rule of the French Directory and the cynical capacity of its officials. Viewing the question in its wider outlines we may note that caricature, like other forms of satire, necessarily shows up the defects of a man or a system. Censure is always more piquant than praise. How should one sketch the benefits of Napoleon's rule in the years that followed the lightning stroke of Marengo? Can the codification of law, the making of better roads over the Simplon and Mt. Cenis, the secularising of government in the Papal States, the abolition of Feudalism and the realisation of the motto—*la carrière ouverte aux talents*—be bodied forth in caricature? Almost of necessity, then, the satirical sketches of the time of the Napoleonic supremacy in Italy are tame. Artists dared not depict the deportation of Pius VII., the extravagances of Napoleon's sisters at Florence and Naples. Censure was impossible; praise of abstract reforms was insipid. Consequently there are comparatively few good Italian caricatures until the time of the great *débacle* draws nigh. Then, as criticism becomes more and more possible, we see how mingled were the feelings of Italians about their great kinsman. Whether from conviction or from less honourable motives, the prophets of doom of course outnumber the panegyrists. "The Scales of Time" shows Father Time (probably after the Battle of Vittoria at midsummer 1813) weighing a Spanish patriot against Napoleon. The former is backed up by his kindred in America; the latter, stretching his hands vainly to his crowned brothers, tumbles

headlong.[1] In another caricature, "Belshazzar's Feast," Pius VII. points threateningly to the handwriting on the wall, and the Allies are shown as the instruments of divine vengeance. Yet again the Allies appear as liberators of Italy, and a British vessel with troops on board comes to land to expel Napoleon, who flies, losing his crown and treasure. Another variation on the same theme depicts Pius VII., who early in 1814 returned from a time of restraint in France, bringing liberty and peace.[2] A typical Italian caricature of this time (reproduced in this volume) is "Bonaparte di Cera." The figure of the Emperor in wax is surrounded by connoisseurs, who feel and puff at his limbs, some of which tumble off or melt.[3]

Then follows a long series of ignoble scenes referring to St. Helena, in which the poverty of the general conception is but feebly redeemed by sketches of rats mounting guard around Longwood. In one a rat is even shown shaving the exile. The most noteworthy of these last of the Italian caricatures is that in which Napoleon, wandering on those desolate cliffs, is met by the ghost of Prina, a former Minister of Finance of the Kingdom of Italy, whose ingenuity in devising taxes in the upper world was so marked as to lead Pluto to bar his entrance into Hades, until the fallen Emperor finally assuages his fears.[4] Italian caricature then oscillates between the eager Jacobinism of 1796 and the reaction of 1799; between a necessarily limited laudation of the Napoleonic System in the Peninsula and the ignoble gloating over his downfall. It is the outcome of a national consciousness only partly awakened, subservient to the forces

[1] F, 54. [2] F, 4. [3] F, 67. [4] F, 48.

emanating from Paris or Vienna, lacking the strength that comes from assured conviction and sturdy manhood.

The honour of the initiative in the anti-Napoleonic movement belongs after England to Spain. This accords with the whole trend of things. The Spaniards had suffered terribly from Napoleon's over-lordship. By virtue of the Treaty of San Ildenfonso of 1796, he had compelled them secretly to furnish large subsidies to Paris after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens in May 1803; and the discovery of that fact led to hostilities between the Courts of London and Madrid in the autumn of 1804. The results were disastrous to Spain. Her colonial system had been impaired by the Peace of Amiens, when Napoleon compelled her to pay the piper by ceding Trinidad to the Island Power. Her fleet now sustained a crushing defeat at Trafalgar; and the inept Charles IV., who in 1802 bargained away Louisiana to France for an aggrandisement to his son-in-law in North Italy, saw his colonies, his commerce, his finances go to ruin. As is well known, the final blow came from Paris in the winter of 1807–8, when the Napoleonic supremacy seemed to be firmly based over the whole of the Continent.

But, as so often happened, the Emperor's ambition o'erleaped itself. His insidious tactics caused a complete breach between the King and Queen of Spain and their heir, Ferdinand, now recognised as *de facto* King of Spain by nearly all Spaniards. Luring them to Bayonne, he beheld their unnatural quarrels with unconcealed scorn, and soon persuaded Charles IV. to give up his claims, while Ferdinand was bullied into sullen acquiescence. This family quarrel at Bayonne furnished the

occasion for one of the first English caricatures dealing with Spain.[1] It shows the Queen gibing at her son, who stoutly retorts; Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, whose immoral intrigue was the cause of the feud, begs for peace; Charles IV. contents himself with fiddling; and Napoleon threatens to send the whole party to the Round House. Another similar caricature depicts the ghosts of the old sovereigns of Spain adjuring the King and Queen to be firm; but Napoleon filches the crown away from the prostrate form of Charles.[2]

The first truly spirited sketch portraying the popular indignation against Napoleon's trickery at Bayonne came from the English artist Rowlandson. In "The Corsican Tiger at Bay," one of his finest creations, he shows the Emperor with his fore-paws on the yelping royal greyhounds of Spain, and snarling fiercely at a furious pack of patriotic greyhounds which rush from the heights. Across the sea, John Bull aims a musket at the beast; while further away the double-headed eagle says to a tame bear: "Now, brother Bruin, is the time to break our chains." The Dutch frog also exclaims: "It will be my turn to have a slap at him next." The most significant fact remains to be noted.[3] This caricature was adopted by the Spanish patriots and was circulated with Spanish translations at the side. Later on it had a considerable vogue among other peoples that sought to shake off the French yoke, and may be classed among the subsidiary causes of the revulsion of feeling which set in throughout Austria and Germany in the following months, leading to the war of 1809 on the Danube, the

[1] "Billingsgate at Bayonne," A, 48.
[2] A, 395. [3] A, 235.

Tyrolese Rising, and the spasmodic efforts in North Germany.[1]

The strictly Spanish caricatures are somewhat disappointing. Some of them are too intricate to be effective. Such is "Enigma de las Ideas de Napoleon para con la España."[2] It presents Napoleon in court costume, but with the hands and toes of a fiend, receiving Ferdinand VII. at Bayonne. From the Emperor's head issue forth threads of policy representing Murat, with an ass's head, sidling down the rainbow of hope to seize the crown of Spain. Moncey, Dupont, Grouchy, Belliard and others, with their troops, complete the celestial arc; and a hand, wielding the shears of Destiny, comes forth from the palace of Bayonne and shears asunder the "baseless fabric" of this vision. In the distance is shown Gibraltar, sending forth a flotilla with the first succours for Spain—a touch suggestive of the sudden change from hostility to close alliance which came over Anglo-Spanish relations in the summer of 1808. The inevitable bull-fight of course figures prominently among the Spanish sketches; while again others are grossly obscene. One artist alone, Goya, achieved distinction in this *genre;* his pictures have something of the force of Gillray and Rowlandson; but other efforts by Spaniards are admitted by their critics to be stiffly crude or narrowly local. On the whole the caricatures of Spain seem to the present writer to be unworthy of the efforts which her sons put forth for six years, with a bravery which has at last received due recognition from the pen of Professor Oman. The fact probably results from the lack of freshness and initiative in the

[1] F, 70. [2] F, 73.

peeps in, as when invincible villagers pounce down on the cannon and arms of the French while absorbed in pillaging their homes.

The flames of Moscow figure less frequently than might be expected, perhaps because the burning of that holy city was looked upon as a national disaster attributable wholly to envious French Poles and Germans.[1] Touches of genuine humour are rarely observable, unless we read humour into the sketch which shows a Cossack carrying off a French officer by the collar of his coat, an incident which presupposes as much resisting power in French cloth as lifting power in Muscovite muscles. In the main, it is the one topic; the untiring valour of the pursuing Cossacks, the unending agony of the French retreat, the resistless power of "General Winter." One must admire the vigour of execution of the Russian caricaturists, especially of Terebeneff; but the necessarily limited range of their themes told against them. The good fortune of their British *confrères*, who portrayed political and naval as well as military affairs, is sufficiently obvious.

A theme of personal interest, however, supervened at the close of that ghastly campaign. For reasons of State, which we now know to be perfectly sufficient, Napoleon decided to leave the relics of the Grand Army at Smorgoni on December 6, 1812, and to proceed in all haste and almost secretly to Paris. The plan in all probability involved more personal risk than if he had remained with the tough nucleus of the Imperial Guard; and he took good care to have a dose of poison ready in case he were pounced upon by Cossacks. But, as in the not very

[1] See the suggestive remarks on this in Tolstoi's *Power and Liberty*.

dissimilar case of his departure from Egypt in 1799, so now, all his enemies and some even of his supporters raised the cry of desertion. This notion was eagerly bodied forth by Russian and English caricaturists, who portrayed the Emperor in all conceivable guises indicating haste, humiliation, and cowardice. In one of the most finely drawn sketches he appears mercilessly wielding the whip while the driver merely gives the horse its head. Two marshals hang on chillily behind. In his left hand the Emperor holds a paper marked "Projects against England"—a singular touch which shows that some at least of the Russians understood the connection between the Moscow Campaign and the Continental System, the triumph of which it was meant to assure.

Very interesting, too, is the Anglo-Russian partnership in caricature which now sets in. Terebeneff and Gillray exert upon each other a stimulating influence which was to have far-reaching results. The rupture between Great Britain and Russia after Tilsit had cut off the connection between the two lands, though all along (so Sir Robert Wilson avers) the pulses of the two peoples beat in full accord. Community of interest in the strife against the world-conqueror now brought Russia quickly into line with England and Spain. The addition of the awakened Colossus of the East to the nations of the far West lent not only mass but energy to the anti-Napoleonic reaction; and a symbol of this union is the free borrowing of caricatures that went on between London and Moscow. Several of Terebeneff's ideas were taken by Gillray or Cruikshank; while theirs lent variety to the output on the banks of the Neva and Moskwa. Working in unison

these artists did much to inspire the North Germans and Austrians to resist the Emperor of the West. For details of this fruitful partnership the reader must consult Mr. Broadley's narrative. But it is essential to the due understanding of events in the spring of 1813 to remember that the action of Prussia in defying Napoleon was the result, not of State policy, but of the pressure of public opinion. Her daring defiance of the autocrat who held most of her fortresses came ultimately from the spirited lead given by her poets, her thinkers, her professors; and we may assign some importance to the Russian and English cartoons depicting the French retreat from Moscow which were scattered plentifully through Germany. In all probability caricature never worked more potently in the reviving of national spirit than in Prussia and North Germany in the spring of 1813.

Up to the time of the national rising of that ever-memorable springtide, German caricature had worn a double face. This Janus-like attitude lay in the nature of things. From the time of General Custine's profitable inroad into the Rhineland as far as Frankfort-on-the-Main (October to December 1792) very many Germans, notably the *Illuminati* of that very district, favoured Gallic democracy. The Swabian poet, Schubart, welcomed the prospect of absorption in France consequent on the Republican triumphs of 1794–95, and rejoiced that the crack of the whip of despots would soon be a thing of the past. But the time of disappointment soon came to Germans as to Italians. The note of questioning sounds in several utterances of the liberty-loving Schiller; while Goethe, in a well-known passage of *Hermann und*

Dorothea, urged his countrymen to trust in themselves, to stand fast shoulder to shoulder and keep out the rapacious foreigner. The need of union became more urgent in that time of inglorious peace, 1802–3, when Napoleon and Talleyrand between them managed to ensure to the partisans and underlings of France the fattest portions of the spoils of the ecclesiastical lands of Germany then offered at an almost public auction. Prussia and Austria secured the largest shares and earned with them the contempt of all patriotic Germans. Owing to the lack of political freedom, these feelings found little expression. The democrats of the Rhineland had the Press and the stage on their side; but the princes combated them partly by means of vignettists and caricaturists.[1]

It was while German opinion floated aimlessly at the mercy of events that the flood of the Napoleonic deluge burst into Swabia, down the valley of the Danube, and overthrew the Hapsburg Power at Ulm and Austerlitz (October to December 1805). A year later Prussia underwent the same fate which her selfish isolation brought upon her. The beginnings of popular opposition to the Emperor are seen after such incidents as the execution of the Nuremberg bookseller Palm; but they are the work of individuals, not of the masses. In truth several caricatures, perhaps inspired by French officials, make fun of Austria and Prussia. Thus "The Triumph of the French Eagle" depicts the Napoleonic bird seizing in its talons the double-headed eagle of Austria, and driving in ignominious flight the Prussian eagle and the

[1] J. Grand-Carteret, *Les Mœurs et la Caricature en Allemagne*, ch. iii. Paris, 1885.

Russian goose.[1] The French party, or the French officials, now installed at Berlin, not content with lampoons on Queen Louisa of Prussia, introduced her into caricatures, one of which we have already considered. Another somewhat enigmatical production shows her as an Amazon drawing news from the Czar Alexander, while her Consort, Frederick William III., stands by halting on a wooden leg and thanking himself that he has enough rope left wherewith to hang himself. These contemptible productions are to be considered as in reality French.[2]

The beginnings of a more national sentiment are to be seen even thus early in the sketches of Schadow. While not daring directly to caricature the French (for that would have involved death) he portrayed them freely and in far from dignified attitudes. The institution of that patriotic society, the Tugendbund, in 1808, also furthered the growth of a half-cryptic satire. A somewhat bolder spurt was made at the time of the semi-national effort of Austria, in the spring of 1809, when Colonel Schill in defiance of orders led his regiment of horse on a raid into Jerôme Bonaparte's Kingdom of Westphalia. But these anti-Napoleonic strivings died away in the late summer of that year, when Austria was overborne at Wagram. The first prudent efforts of the caricaturist Voltz show that the will and the ability were not wanting; and that with the opportunity would come an outcrop of pictorial satire. But that opportunity did not come until the winter of 1812–13. The early part of the Moscow Campaign even brought forth some perfunctory performance in praise of Napoleon's Grand Army.

[1] E, 120. [2] D, 303.

Its overthrow let loose a flood of pent-up indignation and produced the first really national school of pictorial satire in Germany. Very noteworthy is it that the exploits of the Russian bear in chasing the French westward furnish the chief stock-in-trade of the patriotic artists of Berlin and Breslau. For a time, while the issue is doubtful, there come sketches, like "Napoleon's World-Supremacy," where German parents in front of a blazing cottage shake their fists at a French Column defiling away from the wrecked village.[1] The Battle of Leipzic (October 16–18) called forth pæans of joy and defiance. One pictorial group shows Brandenburg, Silesia, Lusatia, and Saxony utterly abjuring Napoleon. Another set of views exhibits the catastrophe of the premature blowing-up of the bridge over the Elster on October 19, with verses in which soldiers, corporals, captains, generals, and Emperor throw the blame on one another and on destiny. An English version is modelled on *The House that Jack built.* Another satire shows the conqueror sitting on a heap of skulls; Berthier gives him tears to drink; while, on the other side, an equerry scatters about decorations and crosses to eager officers.[2] But most famous of all is the corpse caricature of Voltz, the "Triumph of the Year 1813," in which the face of the Emperor is made up of writhing corpses. The immense vogue enjoyed by this gruesome sketch reveals the unquenchable hate which he and his system had aroused. It circulated widely in other lands, and played no small part in fanning the flame of indignation against him.[3]

Notable among the caricatures of 1814 is a trick-picture or transparency, one side of which shows Caulain-

[1] E, 10. [2] E, 124. [3] E, 121.

court at the Congress of Châtillon (March 1814) firing off through a bundle of protocols deceptive offers of peace at the Allies, while the reverse shows Napoleon firing through the same roll (a cannon) a destructive discharge into them.[1] One of the best designs of this period is the group, reproduced in Volume II., showing the ascent of Napoleon from his boyhood in Corsica to the Imperial throne and the stages of his fall. They are his return from Spain, the flight from Russia, and the expulsion from Germany, which last implies his end. Underneath, in a cave by the sea, he sits half covered with seaweed, while Father Time shears off from the map of Europe a morsel, the Isle of Elba, and presents it to him. It is one of the most artistic, comprehensive, restrained, and yet effective caricatures of the time with which I am acquainted.[2]

Another example of German thoroughness, too large for reproduction here, is a cartoon of the Battle of Waterloo, entitled "The Star of the Katzbach,"[3] in reference to Blücher's first great victory in Silesia in the spring of 1813. The artist and poet invoke it as a more potent influence than the Sun of Austerlitz in proportion as Blücher's daring genius has been continually prevailing over the drooping fortunes of Napoleon. Pious and patriotic verses at the side point the moral in a way more suited to the spirit of the German fireside than to the unrestrained character of "Marshal Forward."

The same tendency to moralise over the fall of Napoleon appears in a flood of satire on the woes of St. Helena. Perhaps the best of the St. Helena set is that showing Napoleon as Robinson Crusoe wearing a

[1] E, 95. [2] E, 14, 15, and 119. [3] E, 118.

cap not unlike the Phrygian cap of Liberty of the Jacobin times. But, in the main, the artists of Germany, like those of England, Russia, and Spain, gloat ignobly over the humiliations of Longwood. Perhaps it is too much to expect generous reserve. The effect of caricature depends in part on excess. When we remember the unmanly joy which inspired the closing scenes of the *Persæ* of Aeschylus; when we see all the resources of Greek tragedy and of a great intellect centred on the unchivalrous presentation of the shrill grief of Xerxes, the force of the temptation to exult over a fallen foe can be realised. Here, then, as elsewhere, caricature gives us a glimpse into the feelings of the Napoleonic Age; and we measure the fear and hatred which he aroused by the indecent jubilation over the exile at St. Helena. All such inartistic excesses recall to our minds that just remark of "Junius": "Every common dauber writes rascal and villain under his pictures, because the pictures themselves have neither character nor resemblance. But the works of a master require no index." [1]

If any nation could fitly exult at Napoleon's fall it was Holland; for the years 1795–1815 are among the most hapless in Dutch history. It is difficult for us now to realise how sharp was the drop from wealth and power to poverty and dependence which set in in the closing years of the eighteenth century. In the years 1784–88 France and England courted the Dutch Republic for its alliance so ardently that a European war was averted only by the impotence of France in face of the

[1] Letter of Junius to Edward Weston, April 21, 1769.

of the "Dutch Frog." An English caricature of the time of Napoleon's downfall in 1814 shows the European nations drawing a harrow over the prostrate figure of the Emperor; the Dutchman alone sits.[1] True, he sits on the harrow, and the weight of his thick-set frame implies deep furrows of retributive justice; but the attitude of the Dutchman is suggestively passive. As a matter of fact, very few Dutch satires against Napoleon appeared until some little time after the northern army of the Allies drove the French (except a few garrisons) from that land. The spirit of the people was too broken, too fearful of the future, to find relief in caricature. When the Emperor was safe at Elba, the old Dutch genius for caricature once more welled forth. "The Rat in the Trap"[2] shows Napoleon at Elba chased away by the brave Prussians, for ever starving on his mole-hill, a mockery to the world. The rat theme naturally appears many times, sometimes with his relatives as attendant rodents. Or again in "Het Dolhuis,"[3] produced by Esser at the Hague, the illustrious exile is shown in a mad-house, peeping through the bars at the world which in his frenzy he thought to conquer. Outside are four rats, two of them being Louis, ex-King of Holland, and Jerome, ex-King of Westphalia. The captivity at Longwood also affords a plentiful stock-in-trade for pictorial moralists. We can pardon the Dutch more than any people for their exultation at the Emperor's fall, as they perhaps had suffered more than any land save Prussia in the days of his domination. But it must be confessed that their caricatures lack the originality and force of those of England, and do not express the pent-up hatred of

[1] A, 237. [2] H, 53. [3] H, 37.

those of Russia and Prussia. They tell the tale of the intellectual as well as the material decline of that always interesting people. A typical specimen of minute and pointless caricature is that showing Napoleon, surrounded by little flags or pictures, exhibiting pigmy scenes more or less ineffective.

Of the caricatures shown in these volumes the French are by no means the least interesting. Their drawing and their conception are alike strong. They are free from the coarseness which often disfigures the work of the English and the Spanish draughtsmen ; and, except in the cases where the royalist draughtsmen of Paris borrowed from Gillray, they are original. Only very rarely do they borrow from German sketches. A curious example of this is one of the many sketches showing the retreat from Moscow. All the letterpress is French, except the words *Nach Posen* on a sign-board, which in all probability point to a Prussian source.[1] Another noteworthy feature in the French caricatures is the curious balance between the pro-Napoleonic and anti-Napoleonic productions. The former do not decidedly excel the latter ; for though the supporters of the Emperor had good material for satire in George III., John Bull, the Czar Alexander, and the defeated generals of the Allies, yet all these figure together were not so telling a butt as Napoleon in the days of his decline and fall. Those who go through the excellent series of French caricatures given in Mr. Broadley's text will probably find it hard to award the palm to Bonapartist or royalist caricatures. Among the former dealing with the closing

[1] E, 99. The plate is German.

years, we must admire the sketches *Aux Braves*, showing the advent of the eagle from Elba, with the olive branch tailing off into something very like a thunderbolt, while the scared flock of fowl below, the Muscovy goose, the eagles of Austria and Prussia, Turkey and frogs and tadpoles make off seawards. Or again note the easy vigour of "L'Enjambée Impériale,"[1] where the great soldier with a single stride steps from Elba to France and prepares to plant the tricolour in the towers of Paris. The courtiers below spying nervously at the portent are ridiculous enough; the well-fed repose of the *back* of Louis XVIII. being finely suggestive.

Against these balance the sternly repellent visage of "Bonaparte le Corse,"[2] with a drop of blood on his forehead, where the word *Enghien* and *Tyran* tell their tale. Or again mark the incisive irony of the sketch, "Voilà ce que c'est que d'avoir du Cœur."[3] The Emperor in robust health strides up to a column and inscribes on it the words *Napoléon se rend et ne meurt pas.* The device of a rabbit at the base, typifying cowardly flight, and the wreaths inscribed *d'Egypte, d'Espagne, de Moscou, de Leipzig, de Mt. St. Jean*, acridly point the contrast to the words of the Imperial Guard at Waterloo: *La Garde meurt et ne se rend pas.* We are left wondering what heights the renown of Napoleon would have soared, had he died (as he should have done after his initial challenge to his soldiers) sword in hand amidst the last square of his faithful defenders near La Belle Alliance.

There is no need to point out the merits of the English caricaturists of this period. Their praises have often been sung, and by none more generously than by a Dutch

[1] D, 181. [2] D, 258. [3] D, 332.

critic, Dr. H. E. Greeve, who, after commenting on the poverty of conception of Dutch draughtsmen of that time, exclaims that the English caricaturists took the lead in the great national movement which overthrew Napoleon, and that Gillray deserves a monument near that of Nelson. The panegyric is perhaps a trifle excessive. Nowadays we wonder how some of these repulsive figures of John Bull and the Corsican Ogre can ever have had much vogue; and we wish that occasionally Gillray had wielded the rapier rather than the bludgeon. The fact, however, is indisputable that he and his compeers had an enormous vogue not only here but on the Continent. Those draughtsmen knew the taste of their day as we cannot know it; they portrayed a hatred which we cannot fully understand, which it is the duty of the historian to account for and explain, and, in explaining, to moderate or dispel. *Tout connaître c'est tout pardonner.* We have come to know much that was hidden from the Georgians; and in knowing Bonaparte better we have to apologise for the caricaturists who depicted him as the incarnation of villainy. Nevertheless their sketches possess a very real historical value. They enable us to feel the throbs of the pulse of each European nation; and to the historical student who seeks to understand the inmost reasons of all this fire and fury, they will furnish food for meditation as to the means whereby these awful strifes might have been averted.

J. HOLLAND ROSE.

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NAPOLEON
IN CARICATURE

NAPOLEON
IN CARICATURE

CHAPTER I

THE VARIOUS FORMS OF PICTORIAL SATIRE RELATING TO NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

"Then there's the man of men, Napoleon,
The endless theme of every Frenchman's ravings,
To lose his temper somewhat over-prone,
And sorely vexed by J. Gillray's engravings;
Taught by a player how to fill a throne,
Help'd by a cheery wife to spend his savings,
He dreamed a brave long dream of war and show,
And woke at Longwood with Sir Hudson Lowe!"

—H. J. de B. in *Kottabos*
(A Miscellany of Trinity College, Dublin).

THE most popular form of caricature in vogue during the last decade of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth centuries, both in England and on the Continent, was an oblong folio sheet, upon which the designs of the artist were reproduced either plain or coloured by hand. Caricatures, either in mezzotint or aquatint, were comparatively rare. These prints were bought in large numbers by private individuals of all classes,

[1] The writer possesses a letter of Dr. William Lort Mansel, Bishop of Bristol and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge (1753–1820), requesting Mrs. Humphrey to send him by coach a selection of her latest novelties in the shape of satiric prints and "comic cuts."

and cost on an average one shilling each when coloured and sixpence if plain. When exhibited in the windows of such notable publishers as Fores in Piccadilly, Ackermann in the Strand, Humphrey in St. James's Street, or Tegg in Cheapside, they attracted crowds which frequently blocked the pavement, and seriously interfered with the traffic. The same thing occurred before the shops of Martinet in Paris and M'Cleary in Dublin. Fores, Ackermann, Humphrey, and Tegg were all accustomed to " let out " portfolios filled with their caricatures for the delectation of guests at evening parties, and at one period Fores announced that he had fitted up his shop as an exhibition, the charge for admission to which was one shilling. A certain number of coloured caricatures by George Cruikshank, W. H. Brooke, and others appeared towards the end of Napoleon's reign in serial publications, like the *Satirist*, the *Meteor*, the *Scourge*, and so forth, but they were of the orthodox size, only folded to suit the dimensions of the volume. They were probably also sold separately by the publishers.

The folio print was, however, only one of many shapes in which Napoleon was constantly satirised on this side of the Channel between the years 1797 and 1821. The caricaturing of Napoleon was almost as universal as the fear he excited or the detestation in which he was held. It extended to vignettes on political broadsides and the headings of patriotic songs; to imitation bank-notes and theatrical bills; to pocket-handkerchiefs of all sorts; to fans, valentines, jest-books, watch-dials, and papers and tobacco-wrappers. During the acute crisis of 1803–5 the huge cocked-hat, sallow face, long dark hair, and swaggering attitude of " Little

Boney " intruded themselves everywhere. They invaded the games,[1] puzzles, and primers of the children; they figured conspicuously on the playing-cards, the lottery-tickets, and even the snuff-boxes of their anxious fathers and mothers; they afforded congenial occupation for the potters of Worcester, Derby, Leeds, Bristol, and Staffordshire. Pipe-bowls and walking-sticks were decorated with heads of Bonaparte as grotesque and forbidding as those which adorn the fantastic mugs and jugs, a unique series of which may now be seen in the Brighton Museum.[2] The portrait of the Emperor on an ingeniously contrived thermometer of cardboard and catgut made in 1805 is too good to allow of its being placed in the category of caricatures. In the right hand is a laurel crown, which now points persistently at tempest.[3]

Of the many themes which run through the whole course of Napoleon's career, recurring frequently in different shapes and under various circumstances, that of the caged animal is one of the most familiar. It suited the English stimulator of patriotic rage and insular contempt so to depict the First Consul in 1803. It was hailed with delight by the Spaniards in 1808–9, by the Russians in 1812, and the Prussians and Dutch in 1813 and 1814; it reappeared in England in 1814 when Napoleon was sent into exile at Elba; it did duty in 1815, for the last time, while " General " Bonaparte was

[1] In the *Atlas Van Stolk* Mr. Van Rijn describes a Dutch toy of 1813 which consisted of an envelope in which was a naked figure of Napoleon, with several sets of fantastic clothing and headgear. See Appendix H.

[2] See *post*, vol. ii. ch. xxx.

[3] The writer has failed to trace any English medals in which Napoleon is caricatured. On the other hand, the medals he issued on the resumption of hostilities after the Peace of Amiens and in connection with the anticipated invasion of England in 1804, have a strong caricature tendency.

on his way to exile and death at St. Helena. Isaac Cruikshank may claim the credit of having first originated the "cage" idea in the vigorous drawing now in possession of the writer.[1] The notion caught on amazingly, and was promptly borrowed by other artists and broadside-writers. As far back as 1769 the menagerie of one Pidcock formed one of the chief attractions of Bartholomew Fair. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was located in the Strand, and still bore the name of its founder. It was at "Pidcock's" that the satirists of 1803 and 1814 located the "caged" Corsican! Mr. Ashton[2] gives *in extenso* the first bill of the show, which is headed :—

Pidcock's Grand Menagerie
With an exact representation of
BUNAPARTE
The Little Corsican Monkey
As he may probably appear at the above
Receptacle of Foreign Curiosities,
on or before Christmas 1803.

The writer has come across another "menagerie bill" of the same epoch which may be taken as an example of the popular satiric literature of the period :—

MOST WONDERFUL
WONDER OF WONDERS
Just arrived at MR. BULL'S MENAGERIE in BRITISH LANE,
the most renowned and sagacious
MAN TIGER or OURANG OUTANG,
called
NAPOLEON BUONNAPARTE

---

[1] See Appendix A, 215.
[2] *English Satire and Caricature on Napoleon I.*, vol. i. pp. 251–52.

He has been exhibited through the greatest Part of Europe, particularly in HOLLAND, SWITZERLAND, and ITALY, and lately in EGYPT. He has a wonderful Faculty of Speech; and undertakes to reason with the most learned Doctors in Law, Divinity, and Physic,—HE proves incontrovertibly that the strongest POISONS are the most sovereign Remedies for Wounds of all Kinds; and by a Dose or two, made up in his own Way, he cures his patients of all their ills by the Gross. He PICKS the POCKETS of the Company, and by a *Rope* suspended near a *Lantern*, shews them as clear as *Day*, that they are all richer than before——If any Man in the Room has empty Pockets, or an empty Stomach, by taking a Dose or two of his POWDER of HEMP, he finds them on a sudden full of Guineas, and has no longer a Craving for Food; If he is rich, he gets rid of his *tædium vitæ;* and if he is over-gorged, finds a perfect Cure for his Indigestion. He proves, by unanswerable Arguments, that SOUPE MAIGRE and FROGS are a much more wholesome *Food* than *Beef* and *Pudding*, and that it would be better for OLD ENGLAND if her inhabitants were all MONKEYS and TIGERS, as in Times of Scarcity, one half of the Nation might devour the other half. He strips the Company of their Cloaths, and when they are stark naked, presents a PAPER on the POINT of a BAYONET, by reading which they are all perfectly convinced that it is very pleasant to be in a State of Nature. By a kind of hocus-pocus Trick, he breathes on a CROWN, and it changes suddenly into a Guillotine. He deceives the eye most dexterously; one moment he is in the Garb of the MUFTI; the next of a JEW, and the next moment you see him the POPE. He imitates all Sounds; bleats like a *Lamb*, roars like a *Tiger;* cries like a *Crocodile*, and brays most inimitably like an *Ass.*

MR. BULL does not chuse to exhibit his MONKEY'S tricks in the puffing way, so inimitably played off at most foreign Courts; as, in trying lately to puff himself up to the Size of a *Bull*, his Monkey got a *Hernia*, by which he was very near losing him.

He used also to perform some wonderful tricks with *Gunpowder;* but his Monkey was very sick in passing the Channel, and has shown a great aversion to them ever since.

N.B.—If any Gentlemen of the CORPS DIPLOMATIC should wish to see his OURANG OUTANG, *Mr. Bull* begs a Line or two first; as, on such Occasions, he finds it necessary to bleed him,

or give him a Dose or two of cooling Physic, being apt to fly at them if they appear without such Preparation.

To the Public

The very great demand for the *Spirited* and *Loyal Patriotic Papers* lately published by MR. GINGER, Piccadilly, has induced him to print NEW EDITIONS, at a considerable expense. *Noblemen*, *Gentlemen* and others, who are desirous of serving their Country, would do well to embrace the present Opportunity. The following are selling at very low prices.

[Here follows a list of 49 broadsides. Amongst them are "A Full, True and Particular Account of the Life of Bunoparte," "An English Taylor equal to two French Grenadiers," "Address to the Inhabitants of Britain, founded on the Advice of Nehemiah to the Jews," "Britons' Defiance to France," and so forth.]

What was popular in 1803 proved equally acceptable to the public taste of 1814. The forecast of the former year had been to some extent fulfilled, and it was fondly imagined that Napoleon was now safely caged in Elba. The old idea was again trotted out by several artists, George Cruikshank amongst them.[1] The Pidcock cut is exhumed, and we have another bill of the show, this time headed :—

CRUCE DIGNUS

The Grand Menagerie

With an exact representation of

NAPOLEON BUNOPARTE[2] (*Sic*)

The little Corsican Monkey

As he may probably appear at the Island of Elba.

---

[1] See *post*, chap. xvi.

[2] Anagram upon Buonaparte's name on his attempting to steal the crown —*Bona rapta pone leno* = Lay down the goods you have stolen.—RASCAL.

Ladies and Gemmen

This surprising Animal was taken by *John Bull* and his *Allies*. He possesses the cunning of the Fox, the rapacity of the Wolf, the bloodthirsty *natur* of the Hyena, the tender feelings of the Crocodile, and the obstinacy of an Ass. He has rambled over several parts of the world, where he played a number of wicked and ridiculous tricks, particularly in Egypt, Russia, etc. There he had like to have been *nabbed*, but contrived to steal away to France, where, after a time, exerting all the bad qualities he possesses, he so far got the better of his own species as to reign King Paramount over thirty million of deceived subjects, 'Come, come, Nappo: don't look so Melancholy, you shall have your Gruel, with a Crust in it presently.' Ladies and *Gemmen*, If I was to quit him in an instant he would play a thousand *figaries;* break all your Crockery, drink up your wine, play the Devil and Doctor Faustus with your Wives and *Darters;* eat your Provisions, steal your Goods and Chattles, and commit every kind of Mischief. He is of unbounded ambition; and by some fortunate Strokes of good Luck, more than by his Abilities, proved very successful in his deceptions:[1] but this Luck was not to last for ever.

Puft up as full as a blown bladder with conceit, he thought he could conquer the four Quarters of the Globe. So one dark Night he stole out of Paris to make an attack on Germany, etc., where he assured his companions they would get immense Wealth by their Plunders. But BULL and Co. coming up with him by break of day compelled him to surrender, and transported him to HELL BAY (Elba).

If Napoleon used the theatre adroitly for his own purposes in France, imaginary bills of the play, with or without caricature headings, were utilised largely by his

[1] First twenty-seven verses of the 14th chapter of Isaiah.

foes in England. The following is a good specimen of those issued in shoals between 1803 and 1805:—

In Rehearsal

THEATRE ROYAL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Some dark, foggy night about November next, will be ATTEMPTED by a Strolling Company of French Vagrants, an old Pantomimic Farce, called

HARLEQUIN'S INVASION

or the

DISAPPOINTED BANDITTI

with New Machinery, Music, Dresses and Decorations.

HARLEQUIN BUTCHER, by MR. BUONAPARTE

from Corsica

(Who murdered that character in Egypt, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, etc.).

The other Parts by

Messrs. Sieyes, Le Brun, Talleyrand, Maret, Augereau, Massena

and

The Rest of the Gang.

In the course of the Piece will be Introduced,
a Distant View of

HARLEQUIN'S FLAT BOTTOMED BOATS

warmly engaged by the

WOODEN WALLS OF OLD ENGLAND.

To which will be added (by *Command of His Majesty*, and at the particular Request of all good Citizens)
The Favourite Comic Tragic Uproar of

THE REPULSE

OR, BRITONS TRIUMPHANT.

The parts of John Bull, Paddy Whack, Sawney Mac Snaith and Shone-ap-Morgan by

Messrs. NELSON, MOIRA, ST. VINCENT, GARDNER, HUTCHINSON, WARREN, PELLEW, S. SMITH, ETC., ETC.

The Chorus of *Hearts of Oak* by the
JOLLY TARS and ARMY of OLD ENGLAND
Assisted by a Numerous Company of Provincial Performers who have VOLUNTEERED their services on this occasion.
The Overture to consist of *Britons Strike Home, Stand to Your Guns, Rule Britannia*, and

GOD SAVE THE KING.

The Dresses will be splendid; the Band Numerous and Compleat.
The whole to conclude with a *Grand Illumination* and a *Transparency* displaying

BRITANNIA receiving the Homage of GALLIC SLAVES.

No room for Lobby Loungers—*Vivant Rex et Regina.*

London: Printed for J. Asperne, Successor to Mr. Sewell at the Bible, Crown, and Constitution, No. 32, Cornhill; by E. Macleish, 2, Bow Street, Covent Garden. Price 2d.

∴ James Asperne respectfully informs Noblemen, Magistrates and Gentlemen, that he keeps ready assorted a Collection of all the Loyal Papers that have been, or will be, published. He at the same time takes the Liberty of suggesting that they would do their Country an essential service, if they would order a few sets of their respective Booksellers, and cause them to be Disposed in the villages where they reside, that the inhabitants may be convinced of the Perfidious Designs of BUONAPARTE against this Country; and to expose the Malignant, Treacherous and Cruel Conduct of the CORSICAN USURPER to the various nations that have fallen beneath his Tyrannical Yoke.

George Murgatroyd Woodward, one of the most prolific and ingenious of the caricaturists of Napoleon, is responsible alike for the vignette and text of the remarkable broadside in the collection of Mr. Francis Brothers, entitled "Dialogue between John Stump and Giles Hobson about Invasion," which possesses a distinct Napoleonic interest. The caricature, representing two

issued a set of complimentary verses, the presentation of which entitled him to a gratuity from every well-disposed householder. In December 1803 W. Holland published an anonymous caricature entitled "New Bellman's Verses for Christmas." [1] The Bellman, in cocked hat, wig, and blue gown, sounding his bell with his right hand, holds in the left a broadside, headed by a grotesque figure of the First Consul, beneath which are the following verses:—

"This little Boney says he'll come
At merry Xmas-time,
But this I say is all a hum,
Or I no more will rhyme.

Some say in wooden house he'll glide,
Some say in air-balloon,
E'en those these airy schemes deride
Agree he's coming soon.

Now, honest people, list to me,
Though income is but small,
I'll bet my wig to one pen-ney
He will not come at all."

This caricature is only a reflection of what actually took place. The misdeeds of the hated Corsican found place in any number of bellman's verses distributed at the first fifteen Christmas-tides of the nineteenth century. This novel vehicle for anti-Napoleonic satire is well exemplified in a Copy of Verses humbly presented to "all my worthy Masters and Mistresses of Grosvenor Ward, in the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, by Thomas Bishop, Beadle and Bellman, for the year 1814." At the top is a rough woodcut of the important official himself in all his glory, attended by the watch; in each corner is an angel blowing the trump of fame, and round the

[1] This caricature is reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 314.

edge eighteen vignettes of various scenes in sacred history. After exhausting every conceivable subject, from the lives of the Apostles down to the recent appointment of "Bob" Southey as Poet Laureate, the honest Bellman thus disposes of Bonaparte and the Triumph of Europe, and it must be confessed there is more sound sense in his verses than in Combe's *Hudibrastic Poem*,[1] which made its appearance during the same year under the united auspices of George Combe and George Cruikshank. Here is a specimen of this form of satire on Napoleon, now, it was fondly hoped, finally disposed of at Elba :—

BONAPARTE AND THE TRIUMPH OF EUROPE

All ye who value freedom and free laws,
See what it is to fight in a good cause,
When Bonaparte first took the sword in hand
He fought for freedom and a threaten'd land,
And such a fighter nothing could withstand.
But when he got ambitious, and lost sight
Of all true principle and ground of right,
His foes in turn began to find it out,
And getting on it, grew secure and stout.
Then up the valiant Wellington arose,
And led the van of those enlightened foes :
First from the south fresh Liberty leap'd forth,
Then met the starting Tyrant in the north,
Then crush'd his efforts wheresoe'er they swell'd
Ranging at will from Moscow to the Scheldt ;
And now there's hope that all will see the right
For kings at last have waken'd at her light
And own their triumph by their people's might.

ORANGE BOVEN

Huzza, my boys ! our friends the Dutch have risen,
Our good old friends, and burst the Tyrant's prison !
Aye, and have done it without bloodshed too,
Like men, to sense as well as freedom true.

[1] See *post*, chap. xvi.

The moment, I'll be sworn, that Ocean heard it,
With a new dance of waters it bestirr'd it;
And Trade, reviving from her trance of death,
Took a new lease of sunshine and of breath.
Let's aid them, my fine fellows, all we can :—
Where's finer business for an Englishman—
Who knows what 'tis to eat his own good bread,
And see his table-cloth securely spread—
Than helping to set free a neighbour's oven?
Huzza! The Dutch for ever! Orange Boven!

Another out-of-the-way form of satirical attack on Napoleon consisted of imitation bank-notes, generally "embellished" with suggestive vignettes. In this connection the First Consul during the crisis of 1803–5 shared the honours with Pitt and the Irish Union.[1]

It was evidently considered necessary in Scotland, as well as in England, to train the young idea so as to make the fierce hatred of the national enemy hereditary. In 1804 (September 3) Messrs. Laurie & Whittle published a "Loyalist's Alphabet," by James Bisset, of the Birmingham Museum, in which there are several caricatures of Bonaparte. C stands for Corsican Tyrant, and D for Buonaparte's Downfall, while Z indicates both the Zeal of Englishmen and the Zany of France. For the benefit of the rising generation the First Consul is depicted as being conducted to prison wearing a fool's cap on his head. Lumsden & Co., of Glasgow, two years later brought out *The Child's Instructor* or *Picture Alphabet*. On one cover is a hideous presentment of the Emperor holding a scourge in his hand, while on the other is a still more grotesque representation of the Empress. It is not to be wondered at that Napoleon soon became the bogey *par excellence* of the British

[1] See *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 254.

nursery, and continued to hold the position long after his remains had been brought back from St. Helena to the Invalides. A popular child's puzzle of 1812 consisted of a wooden case which cost four shillings and bore the following label :—

Amusement for Winter Evenings

This day is Published, Price 4s. in a Box

JOHNSTON'S MOVEABLE CHARACTERS

and

Hats, Caps and Wigs

So that the most Laughable and Grotesque Figures may be brought to view ;—for instance, place

BONAPARTE'S HAT

on the

PRINCE REGENT

or the

RECORDER'S WIG

upon

BUONAPARTE.

The change is so great and singular that it produces a Fund of Amusement, and cannot fail to please all humours and dispositions.

At least 30,000 portraits can be produced.

The earlier training of Bisset and Lumsden was thus continued by Johnston. In the same category are the practical toys [1] in which a figure of Napoleon on being held up to the light assumed the shape of the Devil, or the head of the Emperor of the French could at will be changed into a skull crowned with daggers. The idea

[1] See Appendix A, 556.

of these transformation caricatures was eagerly adopted in Berlin after the battle of Leipzic. In 1814 we re-imported "Boney griped," as a German Valentine. When folded in three, we have a serious bust of Napoleon; in two folds, a heart is disclosed pierced by an arrow and placed on a drum; completely unfolded, the Emperor is shown in a degrading position which need not be more particularly described. This form of caricature was exceedingly popular between 1812 and 1815 both in Germany and Holland.

On New Year's Day 1816 Napoleon was safe at St. Helena, but his military carriage was on view at the London or Bullock's Museum (in our own time the Egyptian Hall). The occasion was utilised for the publication of an amusing child's book, to each copy of which was appended the following detachable ticket :—

> "The bearer will be admitted to the Exhibition of BUONAPARTE'S MILITARY CARRIAGE, at the London Museum, or in whatever part of the United Kingdom it may happen to be exhibited, while it continues to be a Public Exhibition.
>
> C. WILLIAMS.
>
> LONDON MUSEUM, PICCADILLY,
> *January* 1, 1816."

The book—published for the proprietor at the Juvenile Library, London Museum, Piccadilly—was entitled "The Coach that Nap ran from: An Epic Poem in Twelve Books," and contained the same number of caricature views by William Henry Brooke, who had affixed to his satirical contributions to the *Scourge* the signature of "Ekoorb." On the last page are shown the youth of 1816, brought up on the intellectual food supplied by Bisset and Johnston, conducted in crowds by their parents

and guardians to the Egyptian Hall, on one of the pillars of which is the hand-bill of Buonaparte's Carriage.[1] Below the picture one reads the lines :—

"The wonderful Coach, from which Nappy flew,
At Bullock's Museum, is open to view ;
And if you will please, to take a walk in,
The whole will be shown as neat as a pin ;
His Watch, Knives and Forks, and Cup you will see,
Besides his Gold Pot, for making his tea ;
His Plates, Spoons, and Bedstead, and, to be short,
His Silver Utensils, of every sort ;
And if you wish, you may have a step through,
The Carriage so famous, from fam'd Waterloo !"[2]

On a series of Lottery Tickets issued after the news had reached England of the birth of the King of Rome are the following topical verses, with an appropriate vignette :—

SONG

ON THE BIRTH OF BONAPARTE'S SON

TUNE : *Dean Swift's Nursery Song*

'Tis now the chief talk of the town,
The Consort of great BONAPARTE
Has brought a young Heir to his Crown—
Report says, the Bantling is hearty.
His subjects with joy have run mad,
From ev'ry department addressing ;
Should he but resemble his dad,
He'll doubtless be worth their caressing.

But Cash runs at present so low,
That, press'd to supply the expenses,
For Army and Lying-in too,
They say, he's half out of his senses :

[1] This rendering of Napoleon's surname was generally persisted in by English caricaturists, probably because it was particularly distasteful to the Emperor, who had officially adopted the form in which the "u" is omitted.

[2] See *post*, chap. xvii.

Our coffers, he knows, are all full,
And now it's his scheme (he so wise is)
To try his success with JOHN BULL,
This Lott'ry for some of his Prizes.

Could he but accomplish this plan,
'Twould serve him awhile to carouse, true,
To treat the good folks like a man,
Who pay their respects to his spouse, too—
A large Twenty Thousand thus gain'd
Would help when they christen the baby;
No matter how gold is obtain'd
An Emperor must never look shabby.

We've Four Twenty Thousand will soon
With Sixty more Capital Prizes
Be drawn on the 4th of NEXT JUNE,
With many more, large in their sizes:
'Twill be the Birth-day of our King
So, Britons, rejoice and be hearty;
Secure them yourselves and then sing,
"A fig for our foe BONAPARTE!"

The Valentine Book was, at the beginning of the last century, as popular as the Lottery Office, though they have long since both vanished from the face of the earth. In 1803 or 1804, under the sanction of four London and one provincial publishers, appeared

THE HERALD OF LOVE
being a choice collection of
VALENTINES
and
ANSWERS
for Various Trades, etc.
with a Singular Valentine from the
DAUGHTER OF JOHN BULL
to
BUONAPARTE.

The missive thus conspicuously alluded to on the title-page runs thus :—

"I some time ago, thought you a quiet man,
And with what you had got, was contented ;
But father tells me, you disturb all you can
Though you find that our coast's well defended.
Each man has a right, for liberty to fight,
But to quarrel with all is a poor thing ;
Therefore take this advice, to set all things right,
You will ne'er do, without you've a good King.
Tho' in flat-bottom'd boats, you come to cut our throats,
From such things—please God will soon alter ;
So I wish all had the gout, before e'er we fell out,
I believe 'twas about Mr. Malta.
Should you leave off your boast, of invading our coast,
Which to you no advantage can derive,
Nor like the Dog in the manger, bark at every Stranger,
Yourself and others, of trade to deprive.
But let pride have a fall, which is ruin to all,
Each striving which shall be the greatest ;
But learn in whom to put trust, for man is but dust,
And to earth at last each mortal's fate is.
So when reason takes place, and in you I find grace,
Act with prudence like a nation divine ;
Each land might be blest, and with a smiling face,
Perhaps I'd choose you for my Valentine."

Further allusion to the other forms of caricature and satire already mentioned is unnecessary. A chapter will be devoted to the subject of the porcelain and pottery on which many of the best-known English prints which appeared during the period of the threatened invasion of England were portrayed. The posthumous caricatures in which Napoleon appears will be dealt with in the same manner, for no man who ever lived received such homage to his great personality during the ninety years which followed his death as Napoleon. The writer has collected

a series of hand-bills (many of them illustrated) relating to theatrical representations and various exhibitions in which the familiar figure is once more met with. In one instance (April 1831) we have the performance at Covent Garden of a drama entitled "Napoleon Bonaparte, Captain of Artillery, General, First Consul, and Emperor," ending in an apotheosis arranged in accordance with Horace Vernet's celebrated picture; in another (January 28, 1825) we see Napoleon's First Tambour Major playing at the English Opera House in the Strand on two drums at once, "suspended in the air with his head hanging downwards." The exile of St. Helena was still alive when a series of Panoramic Paintings were on view in the new buildings near the Post Office, Lower Sackville St., Dublin, showing the battle of Genappe (Quatre Bras), the escape of Bonaparte, his arrival at Torbay and "his deportation to the insulated (*sic*) rock of St. Helena." In 1830 the "Battle of the Pyramids in worsted, 400 feet square," brought the curious to the London Bazaar in the Gray's Inn Road. According to the advertisement it was "performed by one lady Miss Stocks, who had devoted nine years to the completion of the picture, which included a life-size portrait of Buonaparte with his staff. The General is pointing to a battery that is being stormed, where the tricolour flags are seen triumphant." Twelve years later (March 28, 1842) was brought to the Cosmorama, 209 Regent Street, "Baron Geraud's original picture of Pauline Buonaparte, sister of the Emperor Napoleon, represented as a sleeping Psyche, attended by Cupid and the seraphs of Harmony, altogether forming a group of infinite grace and beauty." In most of these shows there was little or no attempt

JAMES GILLRAY
From a contemporary mezzotint

at intentional caricature. Panoramas and "models" of Waterloo for more than half a century continued to be a favourite form of diversion. They were as popular in the provinces as they were in London. As early as 1817 M. Thiodon enlisted the patronage of the Duke and Duchess of York for a Napoleonic Representation at the Royal Rooms, Spring Garden. The "Napoleon Museum," valued at 60,000 guineas, succeeded Napoleon's coach at the Egyptian Hall, and was visited "by the Royal Family, the Foreign Princes and Ambassadors, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, and a vast body of the Nobility, Gentry, and the Public, all of whom have expressed their *unbounded satisfaction and astonishment* at its contents." No sooner had the second funeral of Napoleon become a *fait accompli* than it formed the subject of a diorama at the St. James's Bazaar, St. James's Street. Master Burke, an infant prodigy, and General Tom Thumb in turn both filled their pockets by masquerading as Napoleon. But the cruelest of all the posthumous satires was one of the features of the "Extraordinary Exhibition of the Industrious Fleas," as "patronised by the Royal Families of England, France, Belgium, &c.," opened some time in the "eighteen-thirties" at the Somerset Gallery, Strand, next door to Somerset House, and not far from the Pidcock Menagerie, of which mention has already been made. This time, however, it was not the captive and caged Emperor who was supposed to form the chief attraction, but three tiny figures representing "the three heroes of Waterloo" —Napoleon, Wellington, and Blücher, "riding on fleas with gold saddles." Here is a return to caricature with a vengeance! No mention is made of the "Industrious

Fleas " having received the patronage or encouragement of the Iron Duke. Trivial as these more or less absurd exhibitions may be, they indicate the extent to which the memory of Napoleon had taken hold of the imagination of men and women belonging to every class of the community, long after the events which called forth the plates issued by Ackermann, Fores, and a dozen others had taken place. The position remained unchanged during the eighty years which followed 1830. The interest in all that concerns Napoleon has increased by leaps and bounds since the commencement of the present century. Nothing is too trivial for the Napoleon enthusiast. All that is new concerning the man and his marvellous career receives a hearty welcome from the student of the history of the Napoleonic Era. Hence the necessity of some comprehensive attempt to grapple on cosmopolitan lines with the difficult but fascinating question of Napoleon in Caricature.

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH CARICATURISTS OF NAPOLEON

"Ridiculum acri,
Fortius et melius magnas plerum secat res."
—HORACE.

ISAAC CRUIKSHANK, who designed and etched the earliest caricatures of Napoleon published in London, and Thomas Rowlandson, destined to be one of his most successful satirists, both came into the world during the year (1756) which witnessed the outbreak of the Seven Years' War and the capture of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah. The birth of James Gillray, the conscript father of the Napoleonic caricaturists, took place in the following year, made memorable by the victories of Frederick the Great at Prague, Rosbach, and Lissa, and his defeats at Kollin and Breslau. The elder Cruikshank and Rowlandson were eight years old, and Gillray seven, when William Hogarth, whose mantle they were in a great measure to inherit, died. In 1756, by a strange coincidence, the great master published the prints entitled "England" and "France," dealing with a theme which was subsequently enlarged upon by his successors during the Napoleonic wars. George Murgatroyd Woodward,[1] another industrious satirist of England's most redoubtable foe, was born some time in the year of George III.'s

[1] In the *Dictionary of National Biography* the second name of Woodward is given as "Moutard"—not an inappropriate designation for a caricaturist.

accession; but George Cruikshank, who while still a stripling was destined to enter the lists with both Rowlandson and Gillray, and ultimately to fill the place long occupied by the latter, was more than thirty years the junior of Woodward. "Glorious" George, as he has been often called, was born in Duke Street, Bloomsbury, September 27, 1792, just three months after the formation of the First Coalition against France. Exactly a week before George Cruikshank's birth the French Republic was established by the Convention. The month had opened with the wholesale massacre of the inmates of the French prisons, and the brutal murder of the Princess de Lamballe.

It is certainly fortunate that Rowlandson, Gillray, and George Cruikshank have each found enthusiastic biographers in the persons of Messrs. Grego, Wright, and Blanchard Jerrold.[1] In the case of Cruikshank it is impossible to praise too highly the admirable descriptive enumeration of his works which has been accomplished by Mr. G. W. Reid and Captain Douglas. Neither Mr. Grego nor Mr. Wright lay sufficient stress on the importance of the caricatures of Rowlandson and Gillray as stimulants of that overpowering outburst of patriotic feeling which induced our ancestors to make such colossal sacrifices, first in defence of our shores, and afterwards in compassing the final overthrow of the man who had enslaved the greater part of Europe. The age in which they lived and laboured was one which took the art they practised seriously. Dibdin claimed a similar influence for his songs, and based upon it a demand for material recompense. The effect produced on the

[1] See Preface.

D. J. Pound, Sculpt.

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK

crowds which thronged the pavement before the shops of Fores in Piccadilly, Humphrey in St. James's Street, Ackermann in the Strand, Tegg in Cheapside, M'Cleary in Nassau Street, Dublin, and elsewhere, was possibly more lasting than that which followed the singing of a rousing chorus by Dibdin, or the perusal of one of the patriotic broadsides issued in thousands and tens of thousands by Asperne, Hatchard, and Ginger, and distributed *urbi et orbi* by every conceivable means, including a parachute devised by the ingenious proprietor of the Repository of Arts![1] In the *Dictionary of National Biography* one looks in vain for information on this subject concerning Rowlandson or Gillray, although their merit as artists is fully recognised. The mention made of George Cruikshank's Napoleonic caricatures is of the scantiest, and relates chiefly to the illustrations he contributed to Combe's *Hudibrastic Poem*, and his own book, which was published in 1860, facetiously named by him, *A Pop-Gun, fired off in defence of the British Volunteers of* 1803, *against the uncivil attack upon that body by General W. Napier.* The same remark applies to the brief accounts of these masters of pictorial satire given in Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers.* Although it is asserted that Gillray is the most eminent of English caricaturists (a distinction more often attributed to Hogarth), he is described as of *Irish* descent, while his best friend and most frequent publisher Miss (by the brevet rank of courtesy Mrs.) Humphrey is spoken of as Humphreys.[2] Only nineteen lines are

[1] See ch. i. pp. 4–12, also *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. pp. 195–206, and vol. ii. pp. 229–327.

[2] Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters*, edited by George C. Williamson, 1903, vol. ii. pp. 241–42.

her two boys into the service at a very early age." At the dinner-table in Dorset Street Isaac Cruikshank used to entertain his friends with stories of the prowess of his grandfather at Culloden and the consequent impoverishment of the family. Half a century later the younger son used to boast of this warlike ancestor, when he repeated his favourite joke about his blood being "a mixture of that of the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland." Isaac Cruikshank was something more than a grotesque etcher. He painted very creditably in water-colours [1] and possessed a keen sense of humour, which enabled him to produce many caricatures of which Gillray himself need not have been ashamed. His achievements have naturally suffered from the greater successes and more prolonged career of his gifted son. Mr. Wright does not hesitate to declare that "Isaac Cruikshank was among the most active, and certainly the most successful of the caricaturists at the beginning of the (nineteenth) century."

Isaac Cruikshank had many other patrons besides the print-sellers. He designed and etched lottery-tickets and song-heads by the score, and the writer has detected a sketch from his ready pencil on a Leeds ware jug of 1793 "embellished" with a view of the execution of Louis XVI. George Cruikshank was not five years old when his father first began to caricature the "Corsican Ogre." In February 1797 the French had landed at Fishguard; [2]

[1] In the collection of the writer are two beautiful and highly finished designs in water-colour for patriotic transparencies to be exhibited in London, on the arrival of the news of Nelson's victory and death at Trafalgar. They amply justify a high estimate of his skill in this direction.

[2] See *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. ch. ii. pp. 31–73.

"MONUMENT OF FAITH AND HONOUR"

Unfinished sketch by Gillray of a Napoleonic caricature, 1807

the name of the hero of the thirteenth Vendémiaire (October 5, 1795) and the Conqueror of Italy was now on everybody's lips, and on the 26th October, following the surrender of Colonel Tate and his jail-birds on the coast of Pembrokeshire, the Directory appointed Bonaparte Commander-in-Chief of the Army of England, which was to be mobilised on the northern shores of France for the invasion of this country. For eighteen years (with one brief and almost imperceptible interval) Napoleon Bonaparte, as General, First Consul and Emperor, became pre-eminently the objective of English pictorial satire.

Isaac Cruikshank was not a man to limit his patriotic efforts to his sketch-book or his etching needle. He at once enrolled himself as a private in the "St. Giles's and St. George's Bloomsbury Volunteers," and George Cruikshank (who sixty years later himself became Colonel-Commandant of one of the rifle regiments formed in 1859) carried through his long life a vivid recollection of his father, clad in the gorgeous uniform, the details of which have been perpetuated by Thomas Rowlandson. The national frenzy found its reflection in the Dorset Street studio, and as soon as he was able Robert Isaac or Isaac, born three years before his brother to the very day, joined the "Loyal North Britons" (in honour possibly of the Culloden ancestor), in which corps he eventually attained the rank of sergeant. A sister Eliza, who shared the hereditary fondness for drawing with her brothers, was also a working member of the artistic circle in Dorset Street. George Cruikshank etched her well-known caricature of the "Four Prues." Eliza Cruikshank, while still young, died of consumption. Her mother, however, lived to be a nonagenarian. When

Isaac Cruikshank, the chief bread-winner of the family, died in 1811, while still in middle age, those he left behind him experienced none of the dire straits which some biographers have imagined. At the time of her husband's death his frugal and industrious wife had saved a thousand pounds. Her younger son, as we shall presently see, was now making money rapidly, and under her guidance the studio in Dorset Street continued to prosper for some time longer. She was a God-fearing as well as a thrifty woman, who was wont to declare, laying her hand on her Bible, that she had an equally close acquaintance with Jerusalem and Camden Town. Woe betide her sons if they missed a service at the Scotch Church in Crown Court, Drury Lane. Her husband occasionally resented the severity of her rule, and when the Crown Court clergyman came to spend the evening in Dorset Street would steal away to the Ben Jonson Tavern in Shoe Lane, where he doubtless often drank confusion to the " Little Boney " he limned so often along with other gallant warriors of St. Giles's and St. George's volunteer corps.

Like Isaac Cruikshank, the more famous Thomas Rowlandson was born in 1756 over the shop which his father, a prosperous tradesman, kept in the Old Jewry.[1] He was educated at Dr. Barvis's Academy in Soho Square, where Edmund Burke's brother Richard was one of his schoolfellows. Before he was ten he drew caricatures of both pedagogue and pupils. At the age of sixteen he migrated to Paris, where, under the auspices

[1] For a more detailed account of Thomas Rowlandson the reader is referred to Joseph Grego's *Rowlandson, the Caricaturist*, 2 vols. 4to. London, 1880.

of a French aunt, he began to work in the studio of one of the best-known drawing-masters of the period (1772). Having indulged his taste for satire in the French capital "at the expense of certain fantastic people" to his heart's content, he returned to London, where he continued his studies at the Royal Academy Schools, then located in Somerset House, his life-long friend "Jack" Bannister being one of his contemporaries. His father became involved in financial difficulties owing to rash speculations, but the young painter received pecuniary assistance from his French aunt, the wife of his uncle and godfather Thomas Rowlandson. On her death he inherited £7000, but before he was thirty-six he dissipated the whole of his fortune at the gambling-table. He regarded the calamity stoically, and, holding up his pencils, said, "I have played the fool; here is my resource." This was in 1792. He lived till 1827. At the hands of a contributor in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, writing a few weeks after his death, Rowlandson received a tribute of appreciation which contrasts strikingly with the criticism of his work in Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters*. The sentences are certainly worth quoting, although his caricatures against Napoleon are for some unaccountable reason barely noticed :—

"From the versatility of his talent, the fecundity of his imagination, the grace and elegance with which he could design his groups, added to the almost miraculous despatch with which he supplied his patrons with compositions upon every subject, it has been the theme of regret amongst his friends that he was not more careful of his reputation. Had he pursued the course of art steadily he might have become one of the greatest his-

torical painters of the age.[1] His style, which was purely his own, was most original. He drew a bold outline with the reed-pen, in a tint composed of vermilion and Indian-ink, washed in the general effect in *chiaroscuro*, and tinted the whole with the proper colours. This manner, though slight, in many instances was most effective, and it is known on indubitable authority that Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. West have each declared that some of his drawings would have done honour to Rubens or any of the greatest masters of design of the old school." It has, however, been reserved for the compatriots of Madame Thomas Rowlandson, *née* Chatellier, to do complete justice to the genius of both Rowlandson and Gillray. In his *Histoire de la Caricature*,[2] Champfleury calls attention to the "peculiarly French charm and character of Rowlandson's drawings, resembling the work of Fragonard, Debucourt, and Boilly." "I know of no foreign artist," continues the same writer, "during the second half of the eighteenth century, who possesses the freshness and youthfulness of Rowlandson. The colour-prints of this English draughtsman have more freeness, versatility, reality, and wit than those of Debucourt." The language used by M. John Grand-Cartaret, both as regards Rowlandson and Gillray, is almost identical. It was, M. Champfleury points out, S. W. Fores who first added to the advertisement of his

[1] That Rowlandson was capable of serious work of the highest character there can be no doubt. In a water-colour sketch of the Battle of Vittoria in the possession of the writer there is all the spirit of a Detaille. Unstinted praise may also be given to his drawing in sepia of the *Victory* on the stocks at Chatham, as well as to a picture of the King's Arms Hotel, Dorchester, and the originals of the "Comforts of Bath" series, all of which are in the writer's collection.

[2] Champfleury, *Histoire de la Caricature*, vol. iv. pp. 251–52.

wares the words, "All the caricatures of Rowlandson can be obtained here;" but during the "patriotic campaign," when new plates were wanted every day, and often at an hour's notice, Rowlandson placed his talents almost entirely at the disposal of Mr. Ackermann, whose "Repository" was close to the rooms which the artist occupied in the Adelphi. When he died in 1827, under circumstances little less distressing than those which had characterised the last moments of Gillray, twelve years before, his remains were followed to the grave by Rudolph Ackermann and "Jack" Bannister.

James Gillray, born in 1757, was, like Isaac Cruikshank, of Scotch descent. His father, who bore the same Christian name, was a native of Lanark. If the ancestor of the Cruikshanks suffered in fortune by Culloden, the father of the greatest of all the Napoleonic caricaturists lost an arm at the battle of Fontenoy. For the last forty years of his life, and long after his clever but eccentric son had become celebrated, he filled, as an out-pensioner of Chelsea Hospital, the duties of sexton in the Moravian burying-ground behind No. 381 King's Road, Chelsea, which is by a special Order in Council still used for interments. It has been described as "the peacefullest spot in all London," and retains in the twentieth century the old-world features with which Count Zinzendorf endowed it about the middle of the eighteenth. Here, amongst his Moravian brothers and sisters "departed," the soldier of Fontenoy, whose son helped to conquer Napoleon, sleeps his last sleep. On one side of him is buried George III.'s friend, James Hutton; on the other the once-celebrated Rev. Benjamin La Trobe. A neat flat stone in good repair records the date of his birth and

It is scarcely necessary to follow James Gillray step by step through his too brief career, for he was only fifty-eight when he died after years of mental darkness and excruciating bodily suffering. It was doubtless from the triumphs of Hogarth that the mind of the son of the Scotch sexton received its first bias. Before he could write he was already "scratching and scribbling," and his subsequent studies at the Royal Academy are supposed to have been supplemented by instruction or useful hints from Bartolozzi and Ryland. In some of his earliest efforts he imitated the entwined "J. S." of James Sayer (1748–1823), whose occupations as the chosen pictorial champion of Pitt possibly prevented his turning his attention to his arch-enemy. The name of Humphrey, 227 Strand, appears on a Gillray print of 1779, and he followed the fortunes of the notable publishing house from the Strand to New Bond Street, Old Bond Street, and finally to 27 St. James's Street, where he took up his abode as the lodger or guest of "Mistress" Humphrey, for whom during several years he was supposed to work exclusively.[1] It is quite certain, however, that he supplied plates (often surreptitiously) to

[1] It was not till early in the nineteenth century that Gillray was credited with working only for Humphrey. In 1789 he was evidently supplying prints to Fores, and the following letter in possession of the writer throws very interesting light on the prices he obtained for them.

"JAMES GILLRAY *to* S. W. FORES.

"MR. FORES,—I should be glad if you would send me word, what day it will be convenient to settle the little account between us, as I am very much in want of y^e^ money, if you cannot spare the money just now, if you will send me a note for the amount at a month from the present time, I can make it answer my purpose—as to witnessing y^e^ agreement between you and Mr. Wilkinson, I shall be willing at any time to do it—there is an advertisement and a print for Mr. Fox for which I am indebted to you. I do not recollect

THOMAS ROWLANDSON

From a contemporary print

many other publishers, Holland of Oxford Street and Fores of Piccadilly amongst them, and to avoid detection he often disguised his style.[1] It was by doing this that he obtained the money he spent in drink and dissipation. The last of Gillray's etchings appeared in 1811, but it was of earlier date, for his powers had then already begun to decline. He knew nothing either of the exile of Napoleon to Elba or his return to Paris in 1815. He expired exactly eighteen days before the final

anything beside, if there is, you will deduct it from my bill; y^e^ amount of y^e^ three plates I will just mention again as you may have mislaid y^e^ account.

For Falstaff	£2	2	0
Pig in a poke	1	11	6
Bologna Sausage . . .	2	2	6
	£5	15	6

I am, Sir,
Your h^ble^ serv^t^.
J. GILLRAY.

March 5, 1789
Mr. FORES, Print-seller,
3 Piccadilly."

[1] The following letter of Gillray was written during the height of the invasion scare of 1803–5.

"27 St. James's Street.

"SIR,—I am very sorry that I am so situated as not to have it in my power to oblige you with respect to the Engraving which you wished (me) to execute—having already more upon my hands than I can get through for a considerable time. I should otherwise have thought myself fortunate in having the opportunity of doing a Plate for the work you mentioned.

I am, Sir,
Your most obliged and h^ble^ serv^t^.
J. GILLRAY.

Thursday morning,
April 19 (1804)
TO MR. PHILLIPS, Bookseller,
St. Paul's Church Yard."

overthrow of his adversary at Waterloo. It was, indeed, a strange caprice of fortune that in 1814 and the beginning of the following year, both Gillray and the sovereign whom he caricatured almost as cleverly and persistently as he did Napoleon, should have been in the same sad state of intellectual twilight.

"Mistress" Humphrey and her maid Betty tended Gillray during the last days of his life with affectionate care. They followed his remains six days later through Jermyn Street to the historic church of St. James's in Piccadilly, in or near which Van de Velde, Harlow, Huyman, and Dahl, all of them artists of renown, had already found a resting-place. The spot chosen for the grave of Gillray was the corner of the churchyard, near the Rectory House, divided only by a brick wall from the ceaseless stir and bustle of Piccadilly, and nearly opposite the still-existing shop of "Fores, Caricaturist to the First Consul." Here he was buried in the midst of the scenes associated with those productions of his pencil which give him immortality, with Waterloo only twelve days distant. In all probability young George Cruikshank, who had taken his place at Humphrey's, and as one of the little band of mourners peered gloomily into the open grave, had already begun the prophetic caricatures [1] which appeared in the course of the next fortnight, and doubtless attracted almost as large crowds to the windows of "No. 27" as the dead man's "King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver" had done in the June of 1803. In the wall which divides the churchyard from Piccadilly may still be seen the memorial tablet of the Fores family. Fifty years ago or less the grave of

[1] See *post*, ch. xvii. p. 385.

Gillray was marked by a flat stone bearing the following inscription :—

IN MEMORY OF MR. JAMES GILLRAY
The Caricaturist
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE 1ST JUNE, 1815
Aged 58 years.

It seems that there has been in the interval some strange and mysterious readjustment of the monuments in this interesting God's Acre, which has lately been threatened with total destruction. The Gillray stone has vanished utterly, and nothing now remains but the brief entry in the parochial register of burials, " 6th June 1815. James Gillray, St. James's Street. Y. 58. J. Glen, No. 535." Canon M'Cormick, who now fills the place at St. James's once occupied by Archbishops Tenison, Wake, and Secker, is interested in all that relates to Napoleon. Let us hope the same spirit which roused so much enthusiasm during the Great Terror, of which Napoleon Bonaparte was the principal cause, will induce some of the readers of these volumes to replace the lost grave-stone by such a memorial in the interior of the adjoining church as will help to keep green the memory of James Gillray in the minds of generations yet to come. Almost as brief as the burial entry is the notice bestowed on Gillray by the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It runs thus :—

" June 1st. In St. James's Street, Mr. James Gillray, the celebrated artist, well known for his numerous engraved works, particularly for his caricatures."

Gillray was evidently a born humorist as well as a clever artist. On the back of one of the sixty and odd unfinished sketches for caricatures now in the possession

of the writer he wrote some verses on a once-famous beef-shop which flourished close to Mistress Humphrey's emporium.

GIBBLET'S BEEF, OR, THE PRIDE OF BOND STREET

A Medley

To the Roast Beef of Bond Street—Huzza,
Huzza unto Gibblet's Roast Beef.

To all the Choice Spirits

Ye beaux and ye belles come to Bond Street along,
High Dashers and Wits instruct by my song,
Though everything gay and polite you will find,
Gibblet's beef leaves all gayness, politeness behind.

Tho' Waud swells and boasts of his Twelfth Cake so fine,
And Gunter his window with jellies may shine,
To their puffs of their cakes and their jellies I'm deaf
If I get but a slice of old Gibblet's Roast Beef.

Tho' Oakley may boast of his furniture rare,
His varnish and humbug to make ye world stare,
All his varnish now fails him to cover his grief,
For all the world's gone to see Gibblet's Roast Beef.

Even Aldridge's wife from Llangolin Vale,
A lady accomplished from head to the tail,
With her dearee protests to turn o'er a new leaf,
And make him leave Bab for Gibblet's Roast Beef.

Not e'en Burchall's plump wife would give me relief,
If deprived of a slice of Gibblet's Roast Beef.
Tho' Allen refuses to part with his pelf,
And swears son-in-law should provide for himself,
Tho' his daughter may cry and get no relief,
Yet he'll open his purse for Gibblet's Roast Beef.

The writer has alluded elsewhere to the light on Gillray's art and method which this unique series of unfinished drawings afford.

It is now time to return to "Glorious" George Cruikshank upon whom the cloak of Gillray seems automatically to have descended. In 1815 his father had been dead four years, and George, now in his twenty-third year, was taking the fullest advantage of the crisis brought about by Napoleon's return from Elba, which called for caricatures quite as urgently as the more prolonged scare of 1803–5. Cruikshank's best works relating to Napoleon were executed between 1812 and 1815, and he probably etched several plates from the designs of others, including possibly the "Back View of Napoleon" and the set of caricature portraits of the Emperor and his companions in exile on board the *Northumberland*, which I described as the "Five Heads."[1] Up to this time the Cruikshank family remained in Dorset Street, whither Mr. Jerrold tells us came Ackermann, Fores, and Fairburn with "plentiful commissions." A little later Isaac Robert, generally distinguished by his second name only, married, and the family removed to King Street, Holborn. Robert Cruikshank excelled in portraiture, and somewhat later set up a studio in St. James's Place, St. James's Street. The full-length etching upon copper, which he made from sittings obtained through a keyhole, of the nonagenarian widow of David Garrick is well known. It was done while that lady was visiting one of the paying-guests of prudent Mrs. Cruikshank in King Street, Holborn, to which thoroughfare the Cruikshanks migrated after Robert's marriage. The elder Cruikshank only occasionally flits across the stage of Napoleonic caricature. On one or two of the plates acquired by the writer at the dispersal

[1] See vol. ii. ch. xviii. p. 21.

of the wonderful Cruikshank collection formed by the late Mr. Truman, many of whose treasures are now in the portfolios of Captain Douglas, George Cruikshank has made a note that certain portions of them must be credited to his elder brother, and he probably assisted his father with some of the prints he produced in the last three or four years of his life. He interests us therefore only in a minor degree, but he did a great deal of work as an illustrator of various periodicals, including the *English Spy*, and eventually became proprietor of *The Age* newspaper. According to his son, he was always the "pink of fashion," and possibly moved in circles for which his brother George had neither taste nor ambition. George Cruikshank accompanied his mother and sister to Claremont Square, Pentonville, and on his own marriage he removed to 22–3 Amwell Street, where he lived for thirty years. The thrifty and worldly-wise Mary Cruikshank, to whom her children owed so much, died at Finchley when over ninety. Although she had severely reprobated and even chastised her son's early excesses, she sternly declined to follow his lead when he embraced the tenets of teetotalism at the age of fifty-six.

Our concern with George Cruikshank's career must end with the exile of Napoleon, although he is responsible for some of the later St. Helena caricatures, one of which is described as his masterpiece.[1] In 1859 George Cruikshank, when in his sixty-seventh year, became an effective volunteer, and ultimately received a commission as commanding officer of the Havelocks, or 48th Middlesex Rifles.[2] The manner in which he links up the move-

[1] See *post*, vol. ii. ch. xviii. p. 21.

[2] In the Army List of April 1862 the name of George Cruikshank appears as Colonel Commandant, his commission dating Feb. 27, 1862. His name

ments of 1803–5 and 1859 has been already alluded to.[1] Colonel Edis, C.B., whose unbroken connection with the old "Artists'" Corps, now the 28th Territorial London Regiment, which he joined early in 1860, covers half a century, informs me that he well recollects the picturesque figure of "Glorious" George, with his high forehead, blue-grey eyes, and long, fierce whiskers. The man who caricatured "Boney and Mack" in 1806 lived to dance a hornpipe and sing the ballad of "Lord Bateman" in character when he was eighty, and had not touched a glass of wine for over a quarter of a century. George Cruikshank lacked the academic training of both Rowlandson and Gillray, but nature had given him something of the tragic intensity of Hogarth, and his inexhaustible fertility of invention was as remarkable as his marvellous gift of characterisation, and his ever-mirthful sense of the droll, the fantastic, and the grotesque.[2] If wholesale piracy is a tribute to excellence, Cruikshank suffered from it to a greater extent than any other of his contemporaries. The caricatures of Gillray and others were adapted to the taste and requirements of various European countries, and a series of them, reduced in size, appeared between the years 1798 and 1815 in the octavo volumes published in Germany entitled *London und Paris*, *Paris, Wien und London*, and *Paris und Wien*,[3] but the majority of George Cruikshank's productions were immediately appropriated by M'Cleary, the Irish print-seller and publisher of

ceased to appear in 1868. Before Waterloo he had joined the North British Volunteer Rifles as a private. His sword now hangs in the Mess-Room of 28th (County of London) Battalion of the London Regiment.

[1] See *ante*, p. 41.

[2] See *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xiii. p. 258.

[3] See note in Appendix E.

39 Nassau Street, Dublin, and executed in reverse. These imitations were generally inferior both in execution and colouring.[1]

During the earlier period of Napoleon's career (from 1798 to 1806) the pencil of George Murgatroyd Woodward was almost as prolific as that of Isaac Cruikshank, and many of the designs of the former were etched by the latter, as well as by Rowlandson. Woodward was a humorist as well as a draughtsman, and frequently supplied the text for the patriotic broadsides for which he invented the pictorial headings. Some of his spirited work possesses considerable merit, and a complete copy of his *Eccentric Excursions*, with coloured plates etched by the elder Cruikshank, fetches as much as £25.[2] His chief defects arise from the coarseness of the age in which he lived. George Woodward was the son of William Woodward of Stanton Hall, Derbyshire, a fact which doubtless accounts for the prominence given to that county in his *Excursions*. Although he wholly lacked artistic training, he displayed a wealth of imagination which made his social caricatures almost as popular as those of Bunbury. In 1805 a volume of Woodward's miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse was issued prefaced by his portrait by Buck. Four years later he died almost penniless at the Brown Bear tavern, Covent Garden, from an illness brought on by his habits of dissipation.

It has been exceedingly difficult to trace the minor contributors to the gallery of Napoleonic caricature,

[1] See *post*, ch. iii., and Appendix A.

[2] Woodward's original drawings, of which several, including a set of Bath scenes, are in the collection of the writer, are also valuable.

CRUIKSHANK'S NAPOLEON

Unpublished caricature portrait of Napoleon by George Cruikshank

although many of them were artists of sufficient merit to exhibit in the Royal Academy. William Henry Brooke has already been spoken of.[1] Between 1810 and 1826 he resided at 11 Duke Street, Adelphi, 21 Cecil Street, Strand, 17 Newman Street, and 18 Percy Street. His name figures in the Academy catalogues of 1810–13, 1823, and 1826. Charles Ansell, to whom Mr. Ashton assigns a great many caricatures which bear no signature, finds no place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He resided at 1 Edward Street, Cavendish Square, in 1780, when he sent two pictures to the exhibition in Somerset House. He did the same thing in the following year, and is not again mentioned. His delineations of the horse are said to have been as good as George Cruikshank's were bad. His "Death of a Racehorse" was engraved in six plates and published in 1784. A very large number of the Napoleonic caricatures in the British Museum are attributed to him on the authority of the late Mr. Edward Hawkins, the Keeper of Antiquities, from whose executors the Government purchased a large collection in 1868. As Mr. Hawkins began his collection forty years earlier, he may have known Ansell and his contemporaries. The writer has thought it expedient to accept Mr. Hawkins's decision on this matter as final.

John Cawse, the author of a few Napoleonic caricatures, was a constant exhibitor at the Academy from 1801 until 1844. He painted a large number of portraits, and moved from 3 Goldsmith Street to 11 and 13 Upper King Street, and thence to 11 Orange Street, Red Lion Square; 1 Russell Street, Covent Garden; 9 Henrietta

[1] See *ante*, p. 2.

Street, in the same neighbourhood, and finally to 13 Devonshire Street. Cawse died in 1862. He is now chiefly remembered for his *Art of Painting Portraits, Landscapes, Animals, Draperies, &c., in Oil Colours*, published towards the end of his life

Very little is known of William Elmes, another of the lesser lights in Napoleonic caricature. In 1797 he lived at 4 Tottenham Street, and in that year sent to the Royal Academy a picture of Hooke Tower with a view of the harbour of Waterford, but he never seems to have made any other contribution. Several satiric prints relating to Napoleon are the work of William Heath and Temple West, about whom only very scanty information is forthcoming. William Heath, who appears to have been at once a designer, etcher, and publisher, and is responsible for several well-drawn caricatures, including "Meatey Part and Bone-Part" (one of the many adaptations of the Hogarthian idea of 1756), is not mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. According to M. John Grand-Carteret he also worked under the soubriquet of Paul Pry. He must not be confounded with William Heath of Halifax, who sent pictures to the Royal Academy in 1851. James Heath (1756–1834) and his son Charles Heath (1785–1848) were both well known as engravers and publishers, the father being historical engraver to George III. and his two successors.

The writer has failed to obtain any definite information about the caricaturist who adopted the pseudonym of "Argus"; but James Bisset (1762–1832), who drew the "Loyalist Alphabet,"[1] which enjoyed considerable vogue in 1804–5, not only opened museums, curiosity-shops, and

[1] See *ante*, ch. i. p. 14.

news-rooms in Birmingham and Leamington (the latter in 1812), but enjoyed a considerable local reputation as a coiner of medals and painter of miniatures and fancy subjects. The vignettes of his alphabet do justice to his skill. M. John Grand-Carteret [1] speaks of a mysterious artist-engraver who possessed the Christian name of Charles, and was the author of several anti-Napoleonic caricatures. He evidently refers to William Charles, a Scotchman, who was compelled to quit England early in the nineteenth century and came to New York, where Messrs. Maurice and Cooper assert "he wielded his pencil against his renounced country." [2] In the New York Public Library is an American version of the well-known "Tiddy Doll" caricature, "printed, published, and sold wholesale by William Charles, who had drawn and engraved it, and "entered" it according to the requirements of the Act of Congress. Charles must have returned to London some time before Waterloo. He lived in Theobald's Road, where he published several caricatures on the subject of Napoleon.

M. John Grand-Carteret, who omits S. W. Fores, one of the three principal purveyors of Napoleonic caricatures, from his incomplete list of publishers, credits S. Knight, a publisher, with the actual authorship of two or three plates. Lewis Marks, who is not mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, like William Charles, appears to have united the functions of designer, etcher, and vendor, and is responsible for a few of the later caricatures (1811–15). The writer is unable to give any precise information about him, or concerning

[1] *Napoléon en Images*, p. 52.
[2] *History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature*, p. 62.

Raymond, I. Sidebotham, or Roberts. Sidebotham was a publisher in a small way of business at 96 Strand, and Roberts was the owner of a print-shop of some importance in Middle Row, Holborn. Both Roberts and Sidebotham may have suggested caricatures, but they should be transferred from the list of artists to that of publishers. M. John Grand-Carteret [1] mentions the designs of "G. Sauler Farnham," which Rowlandson frequently engraved. A careful examination of these prints reveals the fact that the author in question was G. Sauley of Farnham. Many of these are signed only "G. Sauley." [2] The John Smith who is responsible for the fine caricature of George III. blowing bubbles, in one of which Bonaparte is reflected (June 25, 1803), may be the water-colour artist of that name, generally known as "Warwick Smith." S. T. Taw, an otherwise unknown artist, produced in May 1815 an English adaptation of the French caricature *La Lecture des Journaux.*[3] Temple West, the last of the minor artists to whom allusion is necessary, was probably a son of Admiral Temple West (1713–57), the ill-fated Byng's second in command at Minorca. Most of his caricatures are signed "T. West," and are distinguished by a vigour which often degenerates into coarseness. Mr. West was an honorary exhibitor at Somerset House as early as 1778. The writer has been unable to ascertain if he was identical with the T. West who sent landscapes to the Academy from 19 Vine Street in 1810 and 1811.

There is no doubt that caricature publishers like Fores

[1] *Napoléon en Images*, p. 52.

[2] Mr. Joseph Grego makes the same mistake, see *Rowlandson, the Caricaturist*, vol. i. p. 45.

[3] See *post*, vol. ii. ch. xx. and Appendix D, 280.

and Ackermann, both of them men of considerable ability, whose establishments during the whole of the war with France were the rendezvous of the leading social and political personages of the day (Louis Philippe, when Duc d'Orléans, lodged over the corner-shop at 50 Piccadilly), often suggested subjects and ideas to the artists who worked for them. George Canning's assistance in this direction has already been spoken of, and "G. H." (George Humphrey) proved of considerable help to George Cruikshank, when he began to fill the place left vacant by the collapse of Gillray. Gillray himself etched four or five very fine plates from the designs of Thomas Braddyll, who joined the Coldstream Guards as a Lieutenant from the 17th Foot on December 7, 1799. He was promoted Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel in that regiment on December 22, 1808, and retired with that rank three years later. To identify satisfactorily the whole or anything like the whole of the anonymous caricatures with which these volumes deal is a manifest impossibility, when we consider that in many cases it was the object of the artists to disguise not only their identity, but even their styles. It is not at all certain that any given good idea was not communicated simultaneously to rival publishers, whose demands in times of crisis far exceeded the supply. One finds oneself now and then groping hopelessly in the dark, but fortunately nearly all the most remarkable efforts of Rowlandson, Gillray, and the Cruikshanks are signed by them. In spite of several errors as to detail, the authors of *The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature* frankly confess that no account of Napoleon can be complete without giving due consideration to the "power of

Gillray as a potent factor in crystallising public opinion in England is duly recognised." Surely the influence thus attributed to the chief of "Little Boney's" assailants was to some extent at least shared by Isaac Cruikshank, who first began the battle, by Thomas Rowlandson, his ablest contemporary, and by the future Colonel-Commandant of the "Havelocks," who entered the lists when Gillray could work no longer.

CHAPTER III

THE PUBLISHERS AND PURVEYORS OF ENGLISH CARICATURES OF NAPOLEON, 1797–1821

"Satyr is a sort of glass, wherein beholders do generally discover everybody's face but their own; which is the chief reason for that kind of reception it meets in the World, and that so few persons are offended with it."—SWIFT, *Battle of the Books*.

THE principal London publishers and purveyors of pictorial satire against Napoleon Bonaparte, between "the great day of Vendémiaire" (October 5, 1795), from which date English politicians began to recognise the improviser of the "whiff of grape-shot" as the man of the hour,[1] until his death, twenty-six years later, at St. Helena, were Rudolph Ackermann, Samuel William Fores, "Mistress" (in reality Miss) Humphrey, and Thomas Tegg. Three out of the four lived within a quarter of a mile of St. James's Church, Piccadilly, in the narrow graveyard attached to which Fores and "Mistress" Humphrey, as well as the great Gillray, who worked for both of them—not always, be it confessed, with absolute loyalty—sleep their last sleep. The classic building designed by Wren,

[1] "After four signal reverses in his career, he now enters on a path strewn with glories. The first reward for his signal service to the Republic was his appointment to be second in command of the army of the Interior; and when Barras resigned the first command, he took that responsible post. But more brilliant honours were soon to follow."—Dr. J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 73.

and consecrated by Bishop Compton in the year of Monmouth's Rebellion, like the Albany, on the opposite side of the street, has changed very little, at any rate as far as its external appearance is concerned, since the first decade of the nineteenth century, when the hilarious crowds, which gathered daily before the well-furnished shop-windows of Fores to enjoy and applaud the latest attack on the "Corsican Ogre," must have disturbed the habitual quietude of the comfortable brick-built rectory-house, tenanted in turn by three future Archbishops of Canterbury.

During the Invasion crisis of 1797–1805 the metropolitan stimulators of public opinion by the sale and exhibition of caricatures inhabited three well-defined topographical centres, viz., Piccadilly, the Strand, and Cheapside. The smaller fry (and their name was legion) appear to have followed in the wake of the pioneers of their profitable and patriotic industry. Thus J. Johnston plied his trade only a few doors away from Thomas Tegg's "Apollo Library," at the corner of Honey Lane, nearly opposite Bow Church, Cheapside, and the near neighbours of the genial Fores, who facetiously dubbed himself "Caricaturist to the First Consul," were Hatchard, Stockdale, and Ginger. The corner-shop of Fores at the southern extremity of Sackville Street had its counterpart at the other end, for a few excellent prints were published by F. Bate, whose shop at 11 Vigo Lane (now Street) was situated at the other end of it. The advantages of a corner-shop to the vendors of caricatures are obvious, and they were doubtless fully recognised by Ackermann, Fores, and Tegg.

Several characteristic illustrations of the chief reposi-

SAMUEL WILLIAM FORES

After the painting by Appleton, in the possession of Mr. G. P. Fores

tories of Napoleonic caricature are in existence, to assist us in attempting the reconstruction of those phases of social, literary, and political life into which they materially entered at a time when intelligence of the most startling description travelled slowly, when every newspaper paid a heavy tax, when the advent of the railway and the telegraph was still far distant, when the beadle, the bellman, and the watchman were still honoured parochial institutions, when the coach rattling through the muddy and ill-paved streets covered the foot-passengers with dirt, and when the turning over of a portfolio of prints was looked upon as an exhilarating form of evening amusement. Before Waterloo was fought, gas had been introduced experimentally, and a steam-packet was regarded as a possibility. The new illuminant was first tried for the exhibition of some of the transparencies which served at once to attest [1] the patriotism of the caricature publishers and advertise their productions. Pugin is responsible for several illustrations of both the exterior and the interior of Rudolph Ackermann's "Repository of Arts" at 101 Strand; Gillray devoted two caricatures to the establishment of his friend, hostess, and chief employer, "Mistress" Humphrey; John Cawse made the façade of Fores's famous Piccadilly shop the subject of an amusing satirical print entitled "John Bull guarding the Toy-shop, or Boney crying for some new Playthings" (October 29, 1813), and Woodward embellished the third volume of Tegg's *Caricature Magazine* with a tail-piece portraying the humours of the Cheapside Apollo Library, where "the largest assortment of caricatures in the world"

[1] See ch. xv. p. 347.

awaited purchasers. The businesses carried on by Ackermann and Fores originated almost simultaneously in 1783, but in the previous year William Humphrey was keeping shop at 118 New Bond Street, where he published some of Gillray's earlier prints. During the same decade a G. Humphrey carried on a similar calling in Long Acre.

Of the four principal publishers of Napoleonic caricatures the Humphrey firm is apparently the oldest. In 1785 W. Humphrey removed from 118 New Bond Street to 227 Strand. Five years later (1790) another move was made to 18 Old Bond Street, and in 1794 the House of Humphrey returned to the thoroughfare in which it flourished in 1782. On March 4, 1797, Gillray's caricature on the landing of the French at Fishguard ten days previously was published at 37 New Bond Street. It bore the title of "The Tables Turned—Billy in the Devil's Claws. Billy sending the Devil Packing." Towards the end of May the name of Humphrey first appeared over the entrance to No. 27 St. James's Street, well within sight of the Royal Palace, a fact which must have lent peculiar piquancy to many of the caricatures published and sold there. Although the name "H. Humphrey" figures on every print issued since about 1790, we know that the presiding genius of this very prosperous business was an unmarried, elderly, and spectacled lady. By a real stroke of genius she took possession of the erratic, bibulous, and pleasure-loving Gillray, lodged, fed, and clothed him in one of her upper floors, limited as far as she was able his supply of ardent spirits, and forced an amount of good work out of him, which soon made "No. 27" a place of rendezvous for statesmen and wits, dandies and officers of the Guards,

learned divines and fashionable loungers, as well as a popular haunt for the habitués of White's, Boodle's, the Cocoa Tree, and (later) Crockford's. A hard-working and vivacious assistant—Betty by name, and no longer in her *première jeunesse*—shared the popularity of her mistress, and proved a most successful vendor of the "Little Boney" caricatures which "Mistress" Humphrey's lodger turned out in rapid succession till that mental darkness came upon him which ended only with death.[1] Gillray has bequeathed us two most interesting memorials of "Mistress" Humphrey and her circle. The first of these prints appeared the year before the business was removed to St. James's Street, and obviously depicts a scene at 37 New Bond Street. It is entitled "Two-Penny Whist," and shows the lady of the house playing cards with Mortimer, the picture-dealer, a German visitor, and the vivacious Betty. The last-named has apparently just scored a victory. Much more interesting and elaborate is the "Very Slippy Weather" print, etched by Gillray, and published on February 10, 1808. Here we have the bow-window of No. 27, each of the panes occupied by a caricature. Many old favourites can easily be recognised. In the very centre is the immortal "Little Boney" plate ("The King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver") with that of "Tiddy-Doll, the Great French Gingerbread Baker," beside it. Below is a copy of "Two-Penny Whist." Through the window two portly divines, one of them possibly the Master of Trinity, whom we know to have been a customer, are seen gleefully examining a print satirising Catholic Emancipation. A knot of sightseers has gathered on the pavement to

[1] See *ante*, ch. ii. p. 38.

enjoy a free inspection of " Mistress " Humphrey's wares, a Guardsman amongst them. They laugh on, heedless of the luckless bearer of a weather-glass who has come to grief on the ice-covered stones. How often George III. must have looked at the perpetual crowd before Humphrey's print-shop in those anxious times which intervened between the declaration of war against France (May 18, 1803) and Trafalgar! Later a certain G. H. (tradition associates the initials with those of a nephew George Humphrey) became associated with the business. He suggested a few subjects to Gillray, and a great many to young George Cruikshank, upon whose capable shoulders the mantle of the English Juvenal descended. " Mistress " Humphrey lived to be a very old woman. Before her death the Gillray copper plates which once brought her a handsome income became unsaleable, although she had refused a large sum for them. There seems to have been no attempt to adapt the business to modern requirements. It died with the popularity of the sheet caricature, generally sold at a shilling a piece, and " let out " in folios for the delectation of the guests at an evening party.

" Mistress " Humphrey had no more energetic rival than her neighbour Samuel William Fores, for whom the wayward Gillray worked surreptitiously even after the upper floor arrangement already described was agreed to and carried out. The competition between Ackermann, Humphrey, and Fores waxed very keen at times of political crisis. From the top of St. James's Street, Mrs. Humphrey could watch the crowd before the window of her most formidable competitor. The ancestors of Fores, like those of Gillray and Cruikshank, were Scotch. Some time in the

reign of Queen Anne the grandfather of the publisher is said to have left his native heath and gone to London in search of fortune. His original home was in the neighbourhood of Forres, which Shakespeare in *Macbeth* speaks of as Fores. His son Samuel Fores, born in 1738, carried on a bookseller's business in the Savoy. In 1761 a son was born to the Strand bookseller, who received the name of Samuel William. At the age of twenty-two young Fores left the paternal roof, and set up for himself as a print-seller at 3 Piccadilly, a house long since sacrificed to the improvement of Piccadilly Circus. He was a man of enterprise and energy. The French Revolution gave him his opportunity, and he took the fullest advantage of it. He added to the normal attractions afforded in those times by caricatures a working model of the guillotine, and a death mask of John Frederick Struensee, the reputed lover of Caroline Matilda of Denmark, George III.'s most unfortunate sister. In 1797 he removed to more capacious premises at the junction of Piccadilly and Sackville Street. Here four generations of the Fores family have carried on business without a break during one hundred and fourteen years, although the number of the celebrated corner-shop has been changed from 50 to 41, and the entrance is now in Sackville Street instead of Piccadilly.

From John Cawse's caricature of 1803, already alluded to, one gets a very good idea of the shop front with its small panes of glass, each occupied by a caricature, framed in wood like those at Mrs. Humphrey's. An iron railing protected them from the inconvenient pressure of the crowd. Fores married twice and became the father of seventeen children. His first wife died in the

year after the move westwards had been effected, and was buried in the quiet St. James's graveyard across the street. His second wife Jane helped him to look after the shop, and became a great favourite with all the celebrities who made it a trysting-place. His Grace of Queensberry, popularly and irreverently known as "Old Q" (who now rests beneath the altar of St. James's Church), hobbled there as long as his tottering legs would carry him; thither came Sir Francis Burdett (anxious to see the latest picture of his speech from the window of the "Crown and Anchor"); the young Lord Byron from his rooms, first in St. James's Street and then in the Albany; the future Duke of Wellington, home from India and soon to start for the Peninsula; General Dumouriez, busy with his plans for the defence of England against Napoleon; Pitt, the tall and slender, and Fox, the short and stout; the illustrious Nelson during his brief intervals of leave, and titled French *émigrés* by the dozen. All these and a great many more congregated at "Fores's" to chat with the popular lady of the house and laugh heartily at the caricatures, of which they were often the central figure. In the autumn of 1805 Nelson looked in hurriedly to pay his bill, for he too was a buyer of satirical prints. Perceiving that an interesting event was imminent, he shouted cheerily, "If it's a boy, Mrs. Fores, damme, I'll be his godfather." Nelson never came back, but the son to which Mrs. Fores gave birth in the dark days which followed Trafalgar was christened "Horatio Nelson." In 1814 another son was named "Arthur Blücher," in honour of the conquerors of Napoleon.

Samuel William Fores died in the year of Queen

Victoria's Coronation, and was buried in the family vault on the Jermyn Street side of St. James's churchyard. The spot has now been built over, but the gravestone was preserved and is fixed on the wall, near the corner where Gillray lies. It is inscribed as follows :—

"In Memory of
Elizabeth, Wife of S. W.
Fores of this parish,
who died Decr 16, 1797
aged 38 years.
Also of Anna Maria
daughter of the above
who died Jany 25, 1796
aged 3 years and 6 months
also of Richard Ann
son of the above who
died Oct : 25, 1830
aged 34.
Also of the above named
S. W. Fores,
who died Feby 3, 1838
aged 77.
Also Jane wife
of the above S. W. Fores
who died Septr 29, 1840, aged 67.
Also of Sophia
Daughter of the above
died July 27, 1849
Aged 67."

The "Caricaturist to the First Consul" was a man of ready wit, and his strong sense of humour enabled him to make many happy suggestions to Gillray, Thomas Kowlandson (whose services he for a time monopolised), and Isaac Cruikshank. As we shall see later, he wrote occasional verses for the caricaturists he employed. Louis Philippe lived for some time during his first period

of exile over the corner-shop, and in after life returned the hospitality afforded him by many graceful acts.

After the death of the founder of the firm, the business was carried on by his sons, George Thomas Fores (1806–58) and Arthur Blücher Fores (1814–33). A son of the former, Philip Byron Fores, next assumed the active direction of affairs at the corner-shop, but the caricatures out of which his grandfather made a modest fortune were practically a thing of the past before he came of age. Himself an ardent follower of the "Queen's," he conceived the idea of making sport take the place of satire. The foundation of the magazine known as *Fores's Sporting Notes and Sketches* was due to his initiative. In 1880 Philip Byron Fores retired in favour of his nephew George Philip Byron Fores, who is still alive. The business is now carried on by his son George Poole Fores, whose children, Philip and Geoffrey Fores, represent the fifth generation of the family in direct descent from Napoleon's redoubtable adversary. Collections of the caricatures published by S. W. Fores were sold by his son G. T. Fores, to Queen Victoria and the British Museum. A third seems to be broken up. Many of the prints in this collection, stamped with the initials "S. W. F." are now in possession of the writer. The story of Nelson's visit to the corner-shop in the autumn of 1805 was told to G. P. Fores by Mrs. Slater, a daughter of S. W. Fores, born in 1800, who lived to be an octogenarian. She remembered clinging to her mother's side, when the bluff, outspoken Admiral entered the shop, and while counting his money out of a long silk purse addressed her with so much frankness on a subject not now usually alluded to. The child with equal free-

RUDOLPH ACKERMANN

From the painting by A. Mouchet, in possession of Mr. E. C. Ackermann

dom clamoured for information as to the whereabouts of the hero's other arm! The reproduction of Appleton's portrait gives us an excellent idea of the striking personal appearance of the successful vendor of pictorial satire, who was not only the friend of great soldiers and sailors, like Wellington and Nelson, but enjoyed the rare distinction of offering the hospitality of his first floor to a future King of France, while he published the most scathing caricatures on "Little Boney" in the shop below.

Of the principal English publishers and purveyors of Napoleonic caricatures Rudolph Ackermann alone enjoys the distinction of occupying a niche in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Ackermann was at the same time one of the most industrious editors of illustrated books in the days of the early aquatinters, and his spacious premises at 101 Strand were distinguished by an elaboration of ornament which none of his rivals aspired to. Several of Pugin's illustrations in Ackermann's "Repository of the Fine Arts" are devoted to their magnificence, internal as well as external. A good account of the life and works of this enterprising and successful man of business has been written by Mr. S. T. Prideaux,[1] who declares that "Throughout three centuries of book production there is no more attractive figure connected with it than that of Rudolph Ackermann. His versatility and achievements in numerous directions have rarely been equalled, and the zest and initiative shown by him in the improvement of all that goes to the making of fine and attractive books marked

[1] *The Printing Art*, vol. ii. April 1902, No. 2. New York and Chicago.

Caricature and his Friends celebrating the completion of the Second Volume of the Caricature Magazine in the Temple of Mirth." A number of grotesque figures with large heads are assembled round a table placed in the centre of a room, the walls of which are adorned with easily recognisable Tegg caricatures, one of them dealing with an incident of the war in Spain. The chairman, glass in hand, toasts "Success to Volume the Third." A herald at his side holds a banner decorated with the following lines :—

"Mr. Tegg, Mr. Tegg !
You're at home to a peg,
Volume *two* is now fairly completed.
Then to Cheapside repair,
Ye who spurn at dull care,
And with Wit, Fun and Frolic be treated.
With *Woodward* we'll laugh,
And with Rowlandson quaff,
And drown every folly absurd,
Here's a toast to the brim,
My gay children of whim,
Success to their *Volume the Third.*"

The patriotic sentiments so profusely put forward by the Piccadilly publishers have seemingly no echo in Cheapside, where the reign of "Wit, Fun, and Frolic" is boldly proclaimed, but Thomas Tegg doubtless recognised the power of ridicule as fully as his more serious-minded contemporaries. The business of Mr. Tegg apparently originated at 73 Cheapside. He eventually became the tenant of the Old Mansion House built by Wren, for which he paid a rent of £900 during forty years. In 1836 he declined the office of Sheriff, the fine he paid going towards the foundation of the Tegg scholarship in the City of London School. It was Thomas

matisation of the German *Taschenbuch*, or illustrated Annual, which in the shape of "Forget-me-nots" and other kindred publications enjoyed a large measure of success until they died a natural death about half a century ago. During the French war anti-Napoleon caricatures were certainly on view in the Strand, as well as in Piccadilly, St. James's Street, and Cheapside. When the necessity for them ceased with the downfall and exile of the "hated Corsican," library meetings on other lines took their place. They even began before the exhibition of Rowlandson's famous transparency "Bonaparte and Death"[1] by the "aid of the gas" proclaimed successively the triumphs of Leipzic and Waterloo. Mr. Prideaux, writing of them, says: "From early in 1813 every Wednesday evening was given to a reception in the large room of his library; and thither flocked authors and artists, patrons and dilettanti, as well as foreigners of distinction, who greatly prized the opportunity thus offered them of an introduction into the best social life of London. On these occasions were exhibited prints and woodcuts, original drawings by well-known artists of the time and by those who hoped to become better known, examples of lithography, and any similar novelty connected with book production, as well as the leading periodicals from abroad."

In 1829 Ackermann returned once more to his first Strand home at No. 96, which had been rebuilt and re-arranged for him after designs by Papworth. Seven years later he died at Finchley, and was buried in the vaults of St. Clement Danes, in the midst of the constant noise and bustle of the great thoroughfare which was

[1] See Appendix A, 854.

M'CLEARY'S CARICATURE-SHOP IN DUBLIN ABOUT 1810

Tegg who in 1830 opened the first bookseller's shop in Australia. His son and successor, Mr. William Tegg, was born at 111 Cheapside in 1816, and lived till 1895, preserving his mental and bodily vigour to the last. Like his father, he took an active part in public life.

Scarcely less important than the "Apollo Library" was Holland's "Museum of Genius" at 50 Oxford Street, in the exhibition rooms of which the presence of "the largest collection of caricature prints and drawings ever shown in Europe" was industriously advertised by its enterprising proprietor, William Holland, who migrated thither from 66 Drury Lane about the end of 1786. In accordance with the custom prevalent in those days, Holland adopted the device of "Garrick's Richard" as a sign, to which the high-sounding designation of "Museum of Genius" was subsidiary. The business carried on there included the publications of song-books, pamphlets, reports of *causes célèbres*, and both theatrical and sporting prints as well as caricatures. Napoleon was still unknown to fame when Holland was taking the town by storm with "Nimrod's Songs of the Chace," "Edwin's Pills to purge Melancholy," Jordan's "Cure for the Spleen," and "Paddy Whack's Bottle Companion." As early as 1791 he had enlisted the services of Woodward and Nixon, and was turning out shooting and hunting prints by the score "in aquatinta, executed in the manner of drawings from the superb designs of F. G. Byron, Esq." In November 1788 Holland made a great hit with Jordan's "Elixir of Life, to which is prefixed Authentic Memoirs of Mrs. Jordan, now first published, Embellished with a superb Engraving of Mrs.

Jordan, in *Sir Harry Wildair.*" To this is appended a long list of the latest caricatures, which comprise "Lunardi's Balloon," "The Rival Queens, or Mrs. Siddons and Mrs. Crawford Boxing for the Theatrical Laurel," "Apollo and the Muses whipping Doctor Johnson round Parnassus," and "Alderman Venison and Count Frog." The national contrast theme, which was to reappear so often during the coming struggle, was already exemplified at the "Museum of Genius." The age of caricature had evidently begun, for the proprietor assiduously advertised the fact that he could "supply collectors with the greatest variety of political and other humorous prints in London, bound in volumes, and ornamented with an engraved title, and characteristic vignette, one hundred prints in a volume, five guineas plain or seven guineas coloured. A greater number in a volume in proportion." Both Woodward and Rowlandson worked for Holland, who moved to 11 Cockspur Street early in the nineteenth century, where Napoleonic caricatures were for a time in greater demand than any other form of satiric print. During the Invasion crisis of 1803–4 Holland issued an enormous number of anti-Napoleonic caricatures and broadsides, examples of nearly the whole of which are in the important collection of Mr. William Latta of Philadelphia.[1]

Not very far from the "Temple of Genius" was 28 Middle Row, Holborn, where Roberts carried on a successful business as a publisher of "patriotic" caricatures during the earlier portion of our struggle with France. Roberts etched some of the plates he

[1] See Appendix A: "Additional from the Latta Collection."

published, *e.g.* "Consular Games" (Nov. 1803), and eventually several of the Roberts' plates passed into the hands of Tegg, by whom they were republished and relettered, as in the plate "Hop, Step, and Jump," which probably did service in 1801 or 1803, and again in 1814 or 1815. Woodward certainly worked for Roberts, but nearly all the caricatures issued by him are unsigned.

The acute crisis of 1803–5, and the scarcely less anxious years which followed it, increased and maintained the demand for anti-Napoleonic caricatures which began in 1797–98. The intense excitement of the years preceding Trafalgar repeated itself in 1813, 1814, and 1815, the years of Leipzic, Elba, and Waterloo. The army of publishers and purveyors became larger than that of the artists themselves, and it seems that everybody who could use a brush or an etching-needle turned his attention to "Little Boney," and the alleged abominations of the "Corsican Ogre." The suggestors of caricatures became almost as numerous as their sellers, and occasionally the publishers turned artists or designers (as in the instance of Roberts), and *vice versâ*. At a comparatively early stage in his career James Gillray published some of his own plates. Some of the minor publishers are responsible for one or two plates only. There are few more extraordinary caricatures than "The Choak-Peal" (summer of 1805), but the writer has failed to find the name of its publisher, W. Hudson, 61 Newgate Street, on any other print of the kind. A full list of the publishers of Napoleonic caricatures, arranged in order of importance, will be given in the Appendix C.

EPITAPH

Underneath a *Gibbet* over a *Dunghill* near *Hastings*
close by the *Sea-Beach*.

Underneath this Dunghill
Is all that remains of a Mighty Conqueror

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE

Who, with inflexible Cruelty of Heart
And unexampled depravity of Mind
Was permitted to scourge the Earth for a Time,
With all the Horrors of War:
Too ignorant and incapable to do good to Mankind,
The whole Force of his Mind was employed
In oppressing the Weak and plundering the Industrious;
He was equally detested by all;
His Enemies he butchered in cold Blood;
And fearing to leave Incomplete the Catalogue of his Crimes
His Friends he rewarded with a poison'd Chalice.
He was an Epitome
Of all that was vicious in the worst of Tyrants;
He possessed their Cruelty without their Talents;
Their Madness without their Genius;
The Baseness of one, and the Imbecility of another.
Providence at last,
Wearied out with his Crimes,
Returned him to the Dunghill from which he sprung;
After having held him forth
On the neighbouring Gibbet,
As a Scarecrow to the Invaders of the British Coast.
This Beech,
The only spot in our Isle polluted by his footsteps;
This Dunghill,
All that remains to him of his boasted Conquest.

Tail Piece to Volume Three
APOLLO LIBRARY
LIBRARIES PURCHASED OR EXCHANGED
THE LARGEST ASSORTMENT OF CARICATURES IN THE WORLD
T. TEGG
That's right Master Tegg – fore away – you will always find plenty of Gammon – as long as we have got a Brazen head here for the supply of the Ships

THE CARICATURE-SHOP OF THOMAS TEGG IN CHEAPSIDE, 1808

Briton!
Ere you pass by,
Kneel and thank thy God,
For all the Blessings of thy glorious Constitution;
Then return from the peaceful Bosom of thy Family, and continue
In the Practice of those Virtues,
By which thy Ancestors
Merited the Favour of the Almighty

Price 1d. or 9d. per dozen.

J. Hatchard, Piccadilly.

Amongst the constant visitors to Hatchard's during the national crisis were Fox and Pitt, Sheridan and Grattan, George Steevens and Malone, Canning and Castlereagh, Dr. Charles Burney and Dr. Samuel Parr. Walter Scott stayed at 96 Piccadilly in 1803, and called on Hatchard, who, four years later, published George Crabbe's *Parish Register*. Fortunately for this genial bookseller, the ferocity and mendacity of his anti-Napoleonic diatribes and the bellicose nature of his patriotic leaflets did not prevent his finding favour in the eyes of strict and strait-laced Claphamites like Wilberforce and Granville Sharpe, through whose influence the production of the *Christian Observer* and other pious and peace-loving papers were confided to his care. In March 1804, at the very height of the second invasion scare, "The Royal Horticultural Society" received its first definite organisation "at a meeting held at the house of Mr. Hatchard in Piccadilly." Here too, bishops and clergy of the Low Church Party, stimulated by the teaching of William Wilberforce and Hannah More, found an atmosphere more sympathetic to their views

than that which prevailed at the "Bible and the Sun," Rivington's house in St. Paul's Churchyard. In 1818, when the demand for soul-stirring broadsides had ceased, the "Outinian Society" was started at Hatchard's. It appears to have been a sort of Matrimonial Agency, to the conduct of which the clerically garbed publisher for some mysterious reason lent his premises. Fifty years later the only son of his son and successor Thomas Hatchard (1794–1858) became a Bishop and married a Bishop's daughter. Although Hatchard's is Hatchard's still, no trace remains of the businesses carried on in 1803–5 at 181 and 169 Piccadilly by John Stockdale and John Ginger.

The shop window of M'Cleary in Nassau Street, Dublin, offered to the inhabitants of the capital of Ireland during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century a spectacle similar to that which the Londoner could enjoy gratuitously to the top of his bent in Piccadilly, the Strand, St. James's or Cheapside. In 1800 William M'Cleary was established at 21 Nassau Street; by 1810 he had moved to 32; in 1820 he was at 39, and in 1847 Sarah M'Cleary, the daughter of William M'Cleary, was selling prints at 24 in the same street. About 1860 the firm ceased to exist. Most of the caricatures published by William M'Cleary, nine-tenths of them unblushing piracies of the works of George Cruikshank and others, bear the address 32 Nassau Street. There is a view of M'Cleary's "Real and Original Caricature Shop" in existence as it appeared during the French War. The word "original" is certainly a misnomer, in face of the constant misappropriation by M'Cleary, not only of other people's ideas, but of other people's wares. In the

doorway an officer is seen pointing exultingly to the prints with the hilt of his sword. In the foreground a singularly unprepossessing individual, driving tandem in a high curricle, has just thrown down a woman and a dog. Possibly the horses were startled by the contents of the shop-front arranged after the manner of those of Fores, Humphrey, and Tegg. To the last-named M'Cleary was indebted for many of the plates which he so industriously reproduced in reverse, not unfrequently depriving them of all artistic merit in the process.

CHAPTER IV

GENESIS OF THE NAPOLEONIC CARICATURE IN ENGLAND —SATIRICAL PRINTS PUBLISHED IN LONDON AGAINST NAPOLEON BONAPARTE BETWEEN THE 13TH VENDÉMIAIRE YEAR IV. (OCTOBER 5, 1795) AND HIS NOMINATION AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ENGLAND ON OCTOBER 26, 1797

"This officer is general of artillery, and in this arm has sound knowledge, but has somewhat too much ambition and intriguing habits for his advancement."—*Report of General Schérer early in* 1795.

"The future Madame Junot has described him at this time (the summer of 1795) as untidy, unkempt, sickly, remarkable for his extreme thinness, and the almost yellow tint of his visage, which was, however, lit up by 'two eyes sparkling with keenness and will-power.'"—DR. J. HOLLAND ROSE, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 64.

"THE allied kings threaten us; as a battle gage we hurl at their feet the head of a king," said Danton, and on January 21, 1793, the unfortunate Louis XVI. paid the penalty of those menaces of foreign invasion by which the First Coalition hoped to ensure his safety. During the whole of the first month of that cataclysmic year Napoleon Bonaparte (Buonaparte he was then, and was so to remain for another four years) was in Corsica. On the day following that on which the King died he set out from Ajaccio on an expedition which ended in the bombardment of Maddalena. It was not till June 13th following that this energetic artillery Captain arrived with the other members of his family at Toulon. Napoleon

was then in his twenty-fourth year. William Pitt, destined before the end of the century to become his most powerful political adversary, was his senior by ten years; Horatio Nelson, who was to inflict on France the great naval disaster of the Nile, was a year older than Pitt; but Arthur Wellesley, like Napoleon, could claim the year 1769 as that of his birth. In 1793 Wellesley became lieutenant-colonel of the 33rd regiment of Foot and represented Trim in the Irish House of Commons. It was the First European Coalition against France (1793–97), promoted to a great extent by Pitt, which offered the supreme opportunity to Napoleon as well as to the future heroes of Trafalgar and Waterloo. Nelson had been unemployed from 1787 till 1793, and it was only in 1794 that Wellesley went to the Netherlands in command of the regiment which he led into action at Boxtel.

In September 1793 Napoleon was chosen by Saliceti to command a park of artillery at the siege of Toulon. The repulse of the English in their attack on the Malbosquet battery on November 30 led to his immediate appointment to the chief command, as far as that arm was concerned. Before the year was out (December 22) he attained the rank of brigadier-general. Although Napoleon's successes at Toulon ultimately served as a stepping-stone to fame and fortune, the extraordinary ability of the coming man was at the time only imperfectly recognised by the Convention, while England continued to remain for some considerable time in blissful ignorance of the personality of the young officer of artillery whose prowess had contributed so much to the success of the forces of the Convention and the discomfiture of Lord Hood.

During the following year (1794) he was placed in command of the artillery of the Army of Italy, and was engaged in various minor operations against the English on the shores of the Riviera, and in organising an expedition to Corsica, which was eventually abandoned. Between March and May 1795 he held the rank of General of Artillery in the Army of the West. In the last-named month he was placed on half-pay, and a few days later arrived in Paris, where he lodged in the Rue des Fossés-Montmartre, now known as the Rue du Midi. He spent the month of June at Paris, where he was received by Aubry, the Minister of War, dined occasionally with Madame Permon (mother of the future Duchess d'Abrantès), and Madame de Bourvins, frequented the theatres and the Garat concerts, and made the acquaintance of Talma at the Restaurant of the Frères Provençaux. He was appointed Brigadier-General of Infantry in the Army of the West (June 13), but continued to remain in Paris on sick leave. On July 17 he was ordered to join his post, but he contrived to get himself attached to the department of Military Topography under the control of the Committee of Public Safety. In September he became the subject of two contradictory orders issued by the Ministry almost simultaneously. In virtue of one he was removed from the active list in consequence of his refusal to comply with the order given him in July; according to the other he was entrusted with a military mission to Turkey. The fateful day of Vendémiaire, however, which was to bring Bonaparte celebrity from one end of France to the other, was now at hand. Meanwhile he remained quietly at Paris, living principally at the Hôtel du Cadran Bleu, Rue de la Hachette, and

Bread
Ale
Beef
Pork
They're a coming
They're a coming
They're a coming
They're a coming
They're coming make haste
Will be all Pulled off
What! coming! Then I have taken all
for a get off, you had my last 6 months not before
you in months afraid of their coming today
That I am fell - There is allays a flattering
Dutch
Oh I have made that Truth
you run they're coming to us
shall be stript
Naked
She BUDGET or John Bull Frightned out of his senses

EARLY CARICATURE ON THE PROJECTED FRENCH INVASION OF ENGLAND
November 24, 1796

taking his meals sometimes with the Permons, at others in the Café Cuisinier, near the Pont St. Michel.

On the evening of October 4 (the twelfth Vendémiaire of the Republican Calendar), Napoleon was at the Feydeau Theatre, when the struggle began between the troops of the Convention and those of the Paris Section. "The Convention," writes Dr. Holland Rose,[1] "now found itself attacked in the very city which had been the chosen abode of Liberty and Equality. Some thirty thousand of the Parisian National Guards were determined to give short shrift to this Assembly which clung so indecently to life; and as the armies were far away, the Parisian malcontents seemed masters of the situation. Without doubt they would have been but for their own precipitation and the energy of Buonaparte." On quitting the play-house the general of six-and-twenty was a witness of the verbal understanding arrived at between Menou, who was at the head of the troops of the Convention; and one Charles Delalot, who represented the insurgents.[2]

Three or four hours later, Barras, at the suggestion of Carnot, sent for Bonaparte and entrusted him with the command of the Army of Paris for the suppression of the revolt. Before the fateful day of Vendémiaire had dawned, Bonaparte had taken such measures as amply justified the confidence of Carnot.

Between the hours of 6 A.M. and 9 P.M. Napoleon, who had carefully studied the efficacy of artillery in street fighting, placed the cannon, which Murat brought with phenomenal promptitude from the neighbouring

[1] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 69.
[2] *Itinéraire Général de Napoleon I^e^*. Albert Schuermans, p. 30.

camp of Sablons, in such positions as to bear on the Royalist columns that threatened the thoroughfares north of the Tuileries. Dr. Holland Rose thus sums up the consequences of his action: "For some time the two parties stood face to face, seeking to cajole or intimidate one another. As the summer afternoon waned, shots were fired from some houses near the Church of St. Roch, where the malcontents had their headquarters. At once the streets became the scene of a furious fight; furious but unequal, for Buonaparte's cannon tore away the heads of the malcontent columns. In vain did the Royalists pour in their volleys from behind barricades, or from the neighbouring houses; finally they retreated on the barricaded church, or fled down the Rue St. Honoré. Meanwhile their bands from across the river, 5000 strong, were filing across the bridges, and menaced the Tuileries from that side, until here also they melted away before the grape-shot and musketry poured into their front and flank. By six o'clock the conflict was over. . . . Such was the great day of Vendémiaire."[1]

The record of the events in what was possibly the most important day in Napoleon's life contained in M. Schuermans' invaluable work is briefer still:[2]—

"1795. *October* 5. *Monday*. From 6 to 9 A.M. Napoleon places his guns in position.

"*October* 6. *Tuesday*. Calm is re-established."

All details of the "whiff of grape-shot" and its far-reaching results are left entirely to the imagination. Four days later Napoleon was appointed to be second General in command of the Army of the Interior. On October 16 he was promoted to the rank of General of

[1] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 72. [2] *Itinéraire*, p. 31.

Division, and established his headquarters in the Rue des Capucines. Before the month was out (October 26) the Committee of Public Safety appointed him to be Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior on the resignation of Barras. After many reverses Napoleon has entered on a path strewn with glories. It was "the great day of Vendémiaire" which first stimulated a demand for the portrait of its hero. To the portrait the caricature was a necessary corollary.[1]

One of the indirect consequences of the triumph of the Treize Vendémiaire was the meeting of Napoleon with his future wife, to whose influence his appointment, five months later (March 2, 1796), to the all-important post of Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Italy was rightly or wrongly attributed. The month of March 1796, like that of October 1795, marked an epoch in the successful career upon which Napoleon had now embarked. Three days after receiving the Italian command Napoleon Bonaparte contracted a civil marriage with Josephine Beauharnais. At that time he was living at 1 Rue d'Antin, she at 6 Rue Chantereine, now known as the Rue des Victoires. It was in the Rue Chantereine that the honeymoon of forty-eight hours was passed. The Commander-in-Chief might well forget that he had been jilted by Désirée Eugénie Clary and refused by the Widow Permon. The day following his marriage (March 10) was devoted exclusively to the study of the coming campaign. Next morning he left Paris for the South. On March 22 he endured a sound scolding from his mother and sisters in the Rue Paradis, Marseilles, on the subject of the marriage they hated and never

[1] See *post*, vol. ii. ch. xviii.

ceased to detest. Four days later (March 26) he arrived at Nice, where he took up his abode at the Maison de Nieubourg, 4 Rue St. François-de-Paule. From March 28 he began to sign all letters and official documents as Bonaparte. The Corsican "Buonaparte" was obviously an unfit rendering of the surname of a Commander-in-Chief of the French Directory.

The year 1796 had opened gloomily enough for England, nor was there anything to cheer us in the news from Lombardy which was soon to awaken in London and throughout the whole country a keen interest in the victor of Millesimo, Mondovi, and Lodi, who, carrying all before him, entered Milan in triumph towards the middle of May. The echo of the acclamations which greeted the "Liberator of Italy" was distinctly heard on the other side of the Channel, and the force of the First Coalition received a rude shock, when Prussia, Sweden, Spain, and Naples in turn made terms with the Directory.[1] Various schemes for the invasion of the British Isles from France were in the air, of which the outcome was Lazare Hoche's unsuccessful expedition to Bantry Bay, of which an account will be found in the first chapter of *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*. The feeling of unrest fomented in Ireland by the Society of United Irishmen and other kindred associations had its counterpart in London, where designs of a more or less treasonable character were openly advocated by the members of a number of "Corresponding Societies."[2]

[1] See *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 5.

[2] The London Corresponding Society was founded by Thomas Hardy, John Thelwell, and others in January 1792. Its first place of meeting was at the Bell, Exeter Street, Strand. The British Convention, which met at Edinburgh in 1793, was suppressed by the Government. Kay published

The horrors of 1793 and 1794 had damped the enthusiasm of a great many of the English Jacobins, but there was still enough treason talked at the "Crown and Anchor," and elsewhere, to persuade the members of the French Directory and their friends that a foreign "Liberator of England" would be welcomed as cordially in London as the so-called "Liberator of Italy" had been in Milan. In the summer of 1796 the portraits of the thin, pallid young man, with the clean-cut profile, long dark hair, and piercing eyes, before whom Austrian generals of mature age and long experience had trembled, found their way to London.[1] It was high time that

several portraits of its principal members. In October 1794 Hardy and several others were acquitted on a charge of "constructive treason." The result of the trial was celebrated early in 1795 by a dinner at the "Crown and Anchor," presided over by "Citizen" Stanhope.

[1] Most of the early portraits are of Italian origin. A full account of them is given in Dr. Achille Bertarelli's *Iconografia Napoleonica* (1796–99), Milan, 1908. In July 1797 a portrait of Bonaparte engraved by L. Schiavonetti after F. Cossia was published in London. In the collection of the writer is an excellent profile portrait dated "Milano 23 Piovoso Anno V. (Feb. 11, 1797) della Republica Francese primo della Libertà Italiana." An equally striking likeness of him surmounts a broadside containing an address to the people of Mantua. This is inscribed "Portrait of Bonaparte, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Italy, aged twenty-seven." It is clear that the English caricaturists of 1797 could have found an abundance of models ready to hand. Mr. Godefroy Mayer writes as follows: "In the *Cabinet des Estampes* I find no engraved portrait of Napoleon anterior to the Italian campaign, but there are in existence two small portraits of an earlier date. The first of these is a medallion with the profile turned to the left, designed and engraved by F. Bonneville, entitled 'Bonaparte, Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the French Republic.' There is a second medallion with the profile also to the left, surrounded by laurels. This was printed in colours. It is engraved by Godefroy, after a drawing by Chardet. These both belong to the latter part of 1795 or the beginning of 1796. The early Italian portraits appeared between 1796 and 1797. There is a very curious early portrait etched by Wocher, of Basle, in 1797. I believe the earliest French portraits of Napoleon are that of Bonneville, and the various portraits engraved after Guérin, the first of them by Fiesinger. As regards original sketches of Bonaparte, in my opinion the earliest is that by Isabey in the caricature group

adequate preparations should be made to resist a possible French invasion, be its leader Bonaparte or Hoche. To the dismal year 1796 belongs the credit of "the first serious attempt to cope with the military requirements of the nation at home. . . . Not only was a supplementary militia of 68,878 men to be enrolled by ballot and trained for service at the slightest notice, but 20,000 men were to be added to the irregular cavalry. Pitt therefore proposed that 'every person who kept ten horses should be obliged to provide one horse and one horseman to serve in a corps of militia; and those who kept more than ten should provide in the same proportion; and that those who kept fewer than ten should form themselves into classes, in which it should be decided by ballot who, at the common expense, should provide the horse and the horsemen. Pitt also suggested that gamekeepers and other holders of licences to shoot game should be included. These troops were to be furnished with a uniform and accoutrements, formed into corps, and put under proper officers.' A desperate onslaught against the latter proposition was made by Sheridan and others, which was withdrawn, but after some alterations the other measures became law in December."

To the proper understanding of the caricatures which were soon to be levelled against Napoleon, both in England and on the Continent, it will be well to describe as briefly as possible the position occupied in 1796 of those who may be expected to figure in them as *dramatis personæ*. Let us begin with the sovereigns of Europe,

Le Petit Coblenz. There is a caligraphic drawing of him in the Print Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale which may have been executed in 1795, but it bears no title. It resembles the portrait of him as a young man by Lemoine."

many of whom were destined to be addressed by the "Liberator of Italy," before the next century was five years old, as "my brother." George III., whose dogged determination and whole-hearted patriotism was to bring about the ultimate downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte, was now in his fifty-eighth year, but still robust and active notwithstanding the terrible illness of seven years before. His son, Frederick, Duke of York, the British Commander-in-Chief, with whom the King now commenced an almost daily correspondence on the subject of the national defence, was thirty-three.

Francis II., over whose forces Napoleon had won so many victories in Italy, had been Emperor of Germany since 1792. It was not till 1804 that he assumed the title of Emperor of Austria. Frederick William II. of Prussia, the nephew of the great Frederick, was succeeded in 1797 by Frederick William III., who reigned till 1845. In November 1796 Catherine II. of Russia died in the midst of her preparations for active participation in the war against the French Republic. The advent to power of her capricious and unreliable son Paul, the "Crazy Paul" of the English satirists, hastened the breaking up of the First Coalition. The Papal throne was occupied by Pius VI., Giovanni Angelo Braschi, whose accession dated as far back as 1775. The ruler of Spain was the feeble Charles IV., who had ascended the throne in 1788.

Prince John governed Portugal as Regent during the mental derangement of his mother Queen Maria, which commenced in 1786. The Crown Prince Frederick, a nephew of George III., occupied a similar position in Denmark, by reason of the hopeless condition of his

father Christian VII., and did not become Frederick VI. until 1806. Selim III. had been Sultan of Turkey ever since 1788. The *doyen* of European monarchs was Ferdinand IV. of Naples and Sicily, who was born in 1751, and had succeeded to the kingly dignity at the age of eight. The King of Sardinia was Charles Emmanuel II., for whom the year 1796 had proved so signally disastrous. Gustavus Adolphus had been four years King of Sweden; the Helvetic Confederation still maintained the immunities it had enjoyed ever since 1648, but Holland and the Netherlands were treated as forming part of the French dominions. Such, in 1796, were the principal figures on the chess-board of Europe, with the great part of whom Napoleon was to come in contact in the early years of the nineteenth century. The French princes in exile must not be forgotten, although for the moment their power was infinitesimal. In 1796 the future Louis XVIII. (Comte de Provence) was forty-one; the future Charles X. (Comte d'Artois) was thirty-nine, and the future Louis Philippe (Duc d'Orléans) was twenty-three.

It is equally necessary to say something of the English statesmen who were now to appear in either direct or indirect relation to Napoleon Bonaparte in the creations of Gillray, Rowlandson, Isaac Cruikshank, and Woodward. Many of them had already figured prominently in the home department of English caricature for a good many years. The leanness of Pitt and the corpulence of Fox had helped very materially to promote the "gaiety of nations" ever since 1782. In 1796 the man in the street was already sufficiently familiar with the features of Dundas and Grenville, Sheridan and Erskine, Tierney

and Grey, as well as those of the "democratic" Dukes of Bedford and Norfolk and that aristocratic *sans-culotte*, "Citizen" Stanhope, Pitt's own brother-in-law. In 1796 Grenville (Foreign Secretary from 1791 to 1801) was thirty-seven; Dundas (Secretary of War from 1794 to 1801), fifty-four; George John, Earl Spencer (First Lord of the Admiralty from 1794 to 1801), thirty-eight; William Henry, Duke of Portland (Home Secretary from 1794 to 1801), fifty-eight; and John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham (President of the Council from 1796 to 1801), forty. Lord Mulgrave, one of Pitt's keenest supporters, was forty-one, and the Earl of Camden (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1794 to 1798) was thirty-seven. There was one face which for long years had provided abundant occupation for the caricaturist which was not to play any part (except possibly as a ghost) in the satirical prints relating to Napoleon. In 1796 Edmund Burke was sixty-seven. His swan-song was the *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, and one the last acts of his life the foundation of a school at Penn for the sons of French refugees. In 1797 he died.

On the side of the Opposition the best-known faces in contemporary caricature at this time were those of Charles James Fox, now within four years of fifty, and Thomas Erskine, only a few months younger. The future Lord Chancellor of England, then M.P. for Portsmouth, had, like Fox, spoken strongly against the Seditious Meetings Bill of 1795, and in 1797 published his *Causes and Consequences of the War with France*. The bloated, pimpled face of Sheridan was to prove a veritable fortune to a whole generation of caricaturists. In 1796 his red republicanism was on the wane. Although he had made

a telling reply to Lord Mornington's speech against the French Republic in 1794, he was to be warmly thanked by Dundas in 1797 for the patriotism of his utterances. In 1803 a call to arms by Sheridan was to help to rouse England to a determined resistance, when she awoke from the delusive dream of the Treaty of Amiens. In 1796 William Pitt's opponent Tierney (then only thirty-five) was sent to Parliament by Southwark. Charles Grey, whose attacks on the warlike policy of the Premier were of the bitterest, was now thirty-two. In 1797 he was to follow the example of Fox and secede for a time from the House of Commons. The denunciations of the French war by Francis Burdett (then aged twenty-six) were as fierce as those of Grey or Fox. Grey and Burdett, like John Horne Tooke (who had already attained the mature age of sixty), were favourite orators at the "Crown and Anchor." Gillray drew all three in the elaborate costume worn by high officials of the French Republic. Still more attractive to the caricaturist was the strong personality of the three "democratic" peers, to whom brief allusion has already been made. The senior of the trio was Charles Howard, eleventh Duke of Norfolk, born in 1746, whose "large, muscular, and clumsy figure," and unshaven, unwashed face proved almost as valuable assets to the satirist as the bibulous countenance of Sheridan. Early in 1798 the "Jockey of Norfolk" got into serious trouble over the "Crown and Anchor" toast-list, and lost his commissions as Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding and Colonel of Militia. Sixteen years later he had apparently forgotten all about "Our Sovereign's Health—the Majesty of the People," for the Prince Regent and the Duke of Clarence made

him gloriously drunk at the Brighton Pavilion, and ordered his coachman to drive him for several hours round and round the grounds. Francis Russell, fifth Duke of Bedford, was nineteen years younger than the Duke of Norfolk, whose democratic opinions he shared. His attack on Burke's pension drew forth one of the bitterest rejoinders ever penned. It was versified in the *Anti-Jacobin* in some clever lines beginning :—

> "Thou Leviathan on ocean's brim,
> Largest of things that sleep or swim,
> Thou in whose nose, by Burke's gigantic hand,
> The hook was fixed to drag thee to the land."

The Duke of Bedford was a staunch sympathiser with Fox, and in November 1796 Gillray introduced both of them into his print "The Republican Rattlesnake fascinating the Bedford Squirrel."

The Republicanism of Charles, third Earl of Stanhope, born in 1753, was even more pronounced than that of the two democratic Dukes. In 1788 he had become Chairman of the Revolutionary Society, and never missed an opportunity of airing his views at the "Crown and Anchor" and sending congratulations to the French Convention. In 1795 he brought forward a motion in the House of Lords against interference with the internal affairs of France, which received no support. As might have been expected, he was mercilessly caricatured as a *sans-culotte*. Before the English satirists had turned their attention to "Little Boney," Pitt's able though erratic brother-in-law had begun to busy himself with scientific inventions as a consolation for political disappointment. Three young English poets had hailed with enthusiasm the "dawn of liberty" in France. Like Beethoven, some

years later, they were to experience the pains of complete disenchantment. Their admiration for the new regime in France died with the crushing out of Swiss liberty, and the aggressive policy of the "Liberator of Italy." In 1796 Robert Southey was twenty-two, William Wordsworth twenty-six, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge twenty-four. The English caricaturists who were to enter the lists against Napoleon were all much older than the poets. Isaac Cruikshank and Thomas Rowlandson were both forty; James Gillray was only a year younger, and George Woodward thirty-six.

Before the end of 1796 the military achievements of Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy excited almost as much interest as the invasion schemes of the Directory with which the name of Hoche had hitherto been more closely associated than any other. It was the threatened attack on our coasts which brought into existence the anti-French caricatures of 1796, as well as one or two pictures of the democratic meetings at the "Crown and Anchor" or elsewhere, in which busts or portraits of the "Liberator of Italy" are introduced as accessories, but which show that he was already a power to reckon with.

The possible consequences of a French landing in England provided Hogarth with the theme of two well-known caricatures,[1] but it was the action of Hoche in France and Bonaparte in Italy which led Gillray to elaborate the marvellous composition to which he gave the name of "Promised Horrors of the French Invasion; or Forcible Reasons for Negotiating a Regicide Peace."[2]

[1] Published 1756. Garrick wrote the "patriotic" verses beneath them, which are scarcely less ferocious than those of 1798 and 1803–4.

[2] This print must not be confused with the series of four published in March 1798 under the title, "Consequences of a Successful French Invasion."

I say remember to take off your
HAT when you wait on a Gemman !!!
There Kiss that you foutre
BUONAPARTE at ROME giving AUDIENCE in STATE.

ISAAC CRUIKSHANK'S FIRST CARICATURE OF NAPOLEON
March 17, 1797

This print appeared on October 20, 1796, the day after Bonaparte occupied Ferrara, and five days before he wrote to the Government Commissioners at Modena to cause all the holy vessels of the Italian churches to be sold for the benefit of the army. In this picture Gillray parodies very cleverly all the worst atrocities of the French Revolution. In this instance Mr. Wright provides us with a fairly full and satisfactory description.[1] "The Whigs," he writes, "are taking full revenge on their Tory rivals. Fox is scourging Pitt. The Bedfordshire ox (the Duke of Bedford), urged on by the Radical Thelwall, is tossing Burke; while Lord Stanhope, behind him, is balancing the head of Lord Grenville against his more bulky part. At Brookes's, the Whig club-house, there is rejoicing; Derby,[2] Norfolk, and Grafton[3] are exulting at the scene before them; Lansdowne,[4] in command of the guillotine, holds forth in triumph the Chancellor's wig, while Erskine exhibits on a platter the heads of Lord Sydney,[5] Windham,[6] and Pepper Arden.[7] Sheridan, below, is taking shelter in the grand nest of

[1] *Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, p. 84, No. 155.

[2] Edward, 12th Earl of Derby (1752–1834). The dwarf figure and protuberant forehead of Lord Derby figured in a large number of Gillray's caricatures. He was at this time paying court to Elizabeth Farren, the actress, whom he married on May 1, 1797. He was a strong Foxite.

[3] Augustus Henry Fitzroy, 3rd Duke (1735–1811). The Prime Minister of thirty years before.

[4] William Petty, First Marquis of Lansdowne (1737–1805), Prime Minister, 1782–83; made a Marquis in 1784. As the Earl of Shelbourne, he was constantly caricatured as "Malagrida."

[5] Thomas Townshend, Viscount Sydney (1733–1800). Lord Sydney served as Home Secretary under Pitt from 1783 to 1789.

[6] William Windham (1750–1810), Secretary for War under Pitt, with seat in the Cabinet, 1794–1801. Windham strongly opposed the peace of 1802 (see *post*).

[7] Richard Pepper Arden (1745–1804). Afterwards Lord Alvanley, Master of the Rolls.

his hand. Upon his capacious stomach are inscribed the words, "Victualled by subscription of the nobility." Against a chair rests a roll of papers lettered "Sovereign Rights of the People."

"The French Bugaboo" (April 14, 1797) is erroneously described by Mr. Ashton as the first English caricature against Napoleon. This is a mistake, for a month previously S. W. Fores, who is also responsible for the "Bugaboo," published (March 12, 1797) "Buonaparte at Rome giving Audience in State," in which there is a full-length figure, supposed to represent the "Liberator of Italy," in the act of offering a wanton insult to the Supreme Pontiff. Both plates were the work of Isaac Cruikshank. It is certainly curious that the first of the English Napoleonic caricatures should perpetuate an inexplicable historical blunder, but one into which the Swiss satirist also fell, although so much nearer to the scene of Bonaparte's operations.[1] Between 1793 and 1796, Pius VI. appears to have limited his support of the First Coalition to prayers and platonic expressions of goodwill. Towards the end of 1796, however, he contrived to excite the ire of the "Liberator," who in the first days of the following year determined to bring matters to a head. On January 14 the victory of Rivoli was added to the already long list of Bonaparte's laurels, and as Dr. Holland Rose puts it,[2] "it now became time to chastise the enemies of France." The Papolini proved to be contemptible soldiers. They fled before

[1] A similar error is perceptible in the rare and interesting series of Swiss caricatures by Anton Dunker contained in the *Moral-Political Courier* (*Moralish-Politischer Kurier*), published in Berne in 1797 or early in 1798. See *post*, ch. xxvi.

[2] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 137.

the Republicans, and a military promenade brought the invaders to Ancona, and then inland to Tolenlini, where Pius VI. sued for peace. The resulting treaty signed at that place (February 16) condemned the Holy See to close its ports to the Allies, especially to the English, to acknowledge the acquisition of Avignon by France, and the establishment of the Cisalpine Republic at Bologna, Ferrara, and the surrounding districts; to pay 30,000,000 francs to the French Government; and to surrender one hundred works of art to the victorious publicans.

As a matter of fact, Napoleon never went to Rome, either in 1797 or at any other time; but Cruikshank drew him, sitting on a throne, in tattered breeches, booted and spurred, and wearing a gigantic cocked hat.[1] He rudely kicks off the tiara of the prostrate Pope, who kneels before him, holding out the keys of St. Peter. A Cardinal behind him clasps in his hands a jug inscribed "Mary Magdalene's cracked pitcher." Bonaparte says, "I say, remember to take off your hat when you wait on a Gemman ! ! ! There, kiss that, you ——"

The acts of irreverence supposed to be committed by Bonaparte's attendants need not be more particularly described.

In the "French Bugaboo Frightening the Royal Commanders," of a month later, there is not the smallest attempt made to give even the semblance of a portrait. We have instead a ferocious dragon vomiting forth smoke, fire, miniature guns, &c., on which is seated a grotesque and forbidding human figure wearing a Phrygian cap

[1] The exaggeration of the hat is probably due to the early portraits, of which Dr. Achille Bertarelli gives several examples.

inscribed Buonaparte. The Pope crouches beneath the belly of the beast. In the right-hand top corner is a winged head of C. J. Fox. Two generals and an army are seen below to the right in full retreat. The dialogue put into the mouths of the figures is as follows :—

Figure of the Pope. "Oh, Lord, this rebel son of mine pays me no homage whatever."

Bonaparte. "Egad, they run well. Courez donc, Messieurs, mes Princes ! ! !"

Dragon. "Push on. Keep moving. Won't you stop and take your change. Vive la liberté."

Winged head of Fox. "Run, Frederick. Run, Charles,[1] Mack,[2] Wurmser,[3] and Kell.[4] Well done, Alvinzi,[5] now Davidovick."[6]

Figures on the right. "I wish I was at York; come on, Charles, follow me."

No other caricature relating to Napoleon seems to have appeared in England between April 1797 and his appointment, on October 26, to be Commander-in-Chief of the Army of England. It will be remembered that in the month of February in that year the "Black Legion" of Tate landed at Fishguard, on the coast of Pembrokeshire, but surrendered almost immediately to an inferior

[1] *The Archduke Charles* of Austria (b. 1771). Brother of Francis I. He was not employed in the Italian campaign.

[2] *Mack.* Carl von Liberich (1752–1828). In 1797 he served with the Army of the Rhine, and was beaten by Macdonald on October 18, 1805; he surrendered to Napoleon at Ulm.

[3] *Wurmser.* Dagobert Sigismund (1724–97), Austrian Commander-in-Chief in Italy. He surrendered Mantua to Napoleon on Feb. 2, 1797, and died in the following June.

[4] Another of the Austrian generals.

[5] *Alvinzi* or *Alvinczy* (1735 and 1810). Signally defeated by Napoleon at Arcola and Rivoli.

[6] Another Austrian general—Davidovich.

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ISAAC CRUIKSHANK'S SECOND CARICATURE OF NAPOLEON
April 14, 1797

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British force commanded by Lord Cawdor.[1] Within a fortnight of the event (March 4, 1797) Gillray produced his excellent caricature, already alluded to, of "The Tables Turned. Billy (Pitt) in the Devil's Claws. Billy sending the Devil Packing." In this print the able artist contrived to counterbalance the alarm occasioned by the appearance of Tate and his army of jail-birds at Fishguard (February 23–25) by the naval victory gained over the Spanish fleet, ten days previously (February 14), by Admiral Jervis off Cape St. Vincent. The Whigs were supposed to exult over the appearance of the French in Wales, as a proof of the want of foresight in the Ministers (no adequate preparations having been made to withstand the French landing, and to have experienced an equally bitter disappointment at the success on sea, which so materially increased the popularity of Pitt and his warlike policy).

Bonaparte's career of conquest in Italy culminated eight months later (October 17) in the preliminary treaty of Campoformio, which was signed at Passaria. A few days afterwards (October 26) he received his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Army of England. Lazare Hoche had died on the 19th of the previous month, and the "Liberator of Italy" was now to be regarded by politicians and caricaturists alike as the central figure of the projects which were to keep the English nation on tenterhooks for ten long years. The victorious general had evidently now learned the advantages of judicious self-advertisement. The Mantua broadside has already been mentioned, but there is another of the late autumn of 1797, published by Houet-Perdoux, 5 Rue Égalité,

[1] See *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. ch. ii. pp. 31–74.

Orleans. It is headed by a roughly coloured woodcut representing the daring of Bonaparte on the bridge of Lodi (May 10, 1796). It is entitled "Trait Héroïque du General Buonaparte, Commandant-en-Chef de l'Armée d'Italie," whose military achievements are thus set forth :—

"Buonaparte, Général en Chef de l'Armée d'Italie, Conquérant de Cloa, Mondovis, Cherasco, Fossano, *passage du Pont de Lodi* sur lequel il a planté le pavillon Français, Peschiera, Véronne, Corona, Monbaldor, Loudon, Riva, Gouvernolo, Bargo, Roveredo, le Tirol, Bassano, Rivoli, St. George, Mantoue, Arcole, Anguiary, la Paix accordée au Pape, qui renonce à Boulogne, Ferrare, et cède Avignon à la France. Toutes ces victoires ont été, remportées en quatorze Batailles rangées et soixante-dix combats; cent mille prisonniers fait à l'Empereur, et cinq cents pièces de Canon de campagne et deux mille pièces de gros calibre, quatre équipages de camp, trente millions en numéraire, envoyés au trésor national."

A couple of songs follow. The latter of these clearly alluded to Bonaparte's new sphere of activity. It is called "Le Bal," and must be sung to a quick-step tune. It runs thus :—

LE BAL

Soldats, le Bal va se r'ouvrir,
Et vous aimez la danse.
L'allemande vient de finir,
Mais l'anglaise commence.
D'y figurer, tous nos Français
Seront parbleu bien aises
Car s'il n'aiment pas les Anglais
Ils aiment les Anglaises.

Le Français donnera le bal
Il sera magnifique ;
L'Anglais fournira le local
Et paiera la musique.
Nous, sur le refrain des couplets,
Dans nos rondes françaises
Nous feront chanter les Anglais,
Et danser les Anglaises.

D'abord, par le Pas de Calais,
On doit entrer en danse ;
Le son des instruments français
Marquera la cadence ;
Et comme l'Anglais ne saura
Que danser les Anglaises,
Bonaparte lui montrera
Les figures françaises.

Allons, mes amis, le grand rond,
En avant, face-à-face,
Français, là bas, restez d'aplomb,
Anglais, changez de place,
Vous, Monsieur Pitt, un balancé
Suivez la chaîne Anglaise,
Pas de côté, croisé, chassé,
C'est la danse Française.

Before the year was out the treaty of Rastadt had been signed (December 1), and five days later the "Pacificator of Italy" and the newly-named Commander-in-Chief of the Army of England was welcomed back to Paris with effusive enthusiasm.

CHAPTER V

ENGLISH CARICATURES OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ENGLAND (OCTOBER 26, 1797, TO MAY 19, 1798)

"Go there and capture the giant corsair that infests the seas; go punish in London outrages that have too long gone unpunished."—*Barras's speech at the reception of Napoleon Bonaparte in Paris on his return from Italy.*

"United as we are, we now only wait with Impatience to see the Hero of Italy, and the brave Veterans of the great Nation. Myriads will hail their Arrival with Shouts of Joy; they will soon finish the glorious Campaign! Tyranny will vanish from the Face of the Earth, and crowned with Laurel, the invincible Army of France will return to its native Country, there long to enjoy the well-earned Praise of a grateful World, whose Freedom they have purchased with their Blood."—*Report of the Committee of Secrecy* (1799).

IT was thus that the "Secret Committee of England" (an outcome of the numerous "Corresponding Societies") addressed, with the customary salutation of "Health and Fraternity," the French Directory some time in 1798. Is it possible that either Bonaparte or the members of the Directory ever seriously imagined that the invasion of England and the capture of London would be welcomed either by the irrepressible *sans-culottes* of the "Crown and Anchor," or by more serious statesmen like Fox and Sheridan, the intimate friend of the heir to the throne? The authorities at Paris were notoriously ill-informed as to the true state of public feeling in London, and they knew little or nothing of the patriotic sentiment which was soon to pervade the whole kingdom. They were inclined to pay

too ready an ear to the bombastic vapourings of the "Corresponding Societies," and the treasonable utterances of the United Englishman. That they entertained some such belief as that now indicated alone explains the issue in Paris about this time of an elaborate symbolical plate obviously intended for the English market entitled "Allégorie Relative à Buonaparte, Général des Armées Françaises, &c., &c., dans l'Expédition contre l'Angleterre." This engraving was dedicated to the Directory by its designer M. V. M. Picot, by whom it was sold at 25 Rue des Postes, Paris. On the ground is seen a female figure, bound and fettered, sitting amongst tombs and crying aloud for succour. Serpents are coiled in her hair. Above float in the air figures of Time and the Angel of France. The latter points triumphantly to a well-executed, half-length oval portrait of Bonaparte, held up and surrounded by four cherubs, one of whom crowns him with laurel.

Two very remarkable caricatures on the subject of the threatened invasion made their appearance in London on January 28 and February 1, 1798. In the course of the following week (February 4) Napoleon was to arrive at Boulogne, and he remained on the northern coasts of France and the Low Countries, busied with the affairs of the Army of England, and the organisation of the invading flotilla, until February 13, when he paid a three days' visit to Brussels. On April 3 he was ordered to take command of the Army of England at Brest,[1] but nothing seems to have resulted from the order, or of a further command (April 24) to proceed to Rastadt. He was already busily engaged

[1] Schuermans, *Itinéraire Général*, p. 64.

with a scheme for dealing England a deadly blow in another direction.

The first of these satirical prints (published by S. W. Fores, now at 50 Piccadilly) was entitled, "The Raft in Danger, or The Republican Crew disappointed." The one produced four days later by "Mistress" Humphrey is called "The Storm Rising, or The Republican Flotilla in Danger."[1] The first is attributed to Isaac Cruikshank, the other is signed by James Gillray. The resemblance between the two plates, both as regards the original idea and its subsequent execution, is so strong that one cannot help suspecting some collusion between the artists. In any case in this particular instance Fores stole a march on his rival and neighbour. Both plates are oblong in form, and measure a little over twenty-six inches in length. The Fores print is the more elaborate of the two. To the right is seen the French fleet approaching the English shore. In front of it is a gigantic raft, heavily laden with troops and all the paraphernalia of an invading host. Its progress is assisted by windmills. Tricolour flags inscribed "Plunder," "Regicides and Parricides," "Deism and Atheism," "Torture," and so forth, surmount a number of towers placed along the edge of the vessel. A huge banner bearing the device "Liberty and Equality" crowns a central citadel three storeys high. On the front is a guillotine surmounted by a Phrygian cap. The progress of the raft is impeded by the exertions of George III., Pitt, and Melville, who, after the fashion of cherubim, raise a tempest in it by means of winds on which can be read such names as Bridport, St. Vincent, Duncan, Pellew, and so forth.

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 248.

On the shore, apparently below Dover cliff, is a huge windlass, connected with the raft by a stout cord. Fox, the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and Sheridan (the first and last in their shirt sleeves and wearing Phrygian caps) are using their best endeavours to aid the progress of the vessel by turning the windlass, on the top of which a diminutive figure (probably Pepper Arden) encourages their efforts by playing on the bagpipes the Jacobite refrain :—

"Over the water and over the sea
And over the raft to Charlie."[1]

On the grass at their feet lie a Norfolk cheese, resting upon an open volume lettered "President of the Directory, C.I.F.," &c. In the background, in the shadow of the cliff, is the dim outline of a body swinging on a gibbet. On the cross-bar of the gibbet is the word "Tierey" [Tierney ?]. Troops are massed on the crest of the hills in the background. From the pocket of his Grace of Norfolk's coat protrudes a paper labelled "Borough Influence"; the Duke of Bedford carries a treatise on agriculture under his arm. Fox cries, "Pull away, citizens." The Duke of Norfolk and Sheridan are both agreed as to the necessity of "keeping clear of the rope." A fifth Republican (Stanhope ?) cries, "Hark, there's a storm brewing. I hear thunder." Three stormy petrels hover above the agitated waters—Erskine, Captain Morris (the poet-laureate of the Whigs), and Napoleon Bonaparte. Before six more years had passed away Sheridan was to be foremost amongst these who preached the necessity of

[1] These lines parody those referring to "Bonnie Prince Charlie" in a Jacobite song of '45.

resistance to the bitter end, while Erskine commanded the "Devil's Own" corps of volunteers, and Captain Morris turned out patriotic songs by the dozen.

The Gillray counterpart lacks to some extent the exuberance of detail which characterises the Cruikshank-Fores print. In it Fox, Sheridan, the Duke of Bedford, and Tierney alone work the windlass; Pitt only plays the part of Eolus, and on Fox's coat, lying on the ground, is the list of the "New Republican Ministry," with "Citizen Volpone" as Premier. On the distant coast of France (the flotilla in this instance is supposed to come from Brest) is a devil dancing on a guillotine, fiddling and singing, "Over de Vater, over de Vater to Charley!" This is possibly the first of the many prints in which the "Pacificator of Italy" was made to personify the Evil One. Three weeks later (February 20) Mr. Fores again utilises the Eolian idea on different lines for a caricature in which we get a quite recognisable portrait of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of England, who, assisted by Berthier (his incomparable Chief of the Staff) is projecting across the Channel balloons of all sizes, parachutes, guillotines, common baggage-waggons, tents, cavalry, &c. Berthier says, "That's your sort, my boy! The Directory will give you immortal honour for this, &c., &c. . . ." To which Bonaparte replies: "Oh, Berthier, Berthier, I can't go through with it, I fear!" A flat-bottomed boat, with the Gallic cock at the mast-head, approaches the cliffs of Dover, upon which are perched Fox, Sheridan, and others wearing Phrygian caps. Fox exclaims: "How fragrant is the Southern breeze!" To which his friend replies: "Hoot, mon, this reminds me of sweet Edinburgh!" At the foot of the cliff a shell ejects Monge and

Consequences of a Successfull French Invasion. — N.o I. Plate 1.st — "We come to recover your long lost Liberties." Scene The House of Commons

CONSEQUENCES OF A SUCCESSFUL INVASION

By James Gillray. Plate 1

a roll of paper inscribed "Prosecution of paper for libelling Government." Rowlandson's caricature, "Rehearsal of a French Invasion before the Invalides at the Island of St. Marcou on May 7, 1798,"[1] was published by Ackermann only eleven days later. The execution of the print strongly resembles that of March 16, already described.

On May 18 Napoleon Bonaparte was at Toulon on the eve of setting out for Egypt. A week previously, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army of England, he had issued the following proclamation to his troops:—

LIBERTÉ ÉGALITÉ

TOULON, le 21 Floréal, An 6me de la République Française [May 18, 1798].

BONAPARTE

GENERAL EN CHEF

DE L'ARMEE D'ANGLETERRE

I

Ordonne aux Officiers, Soldats de la 2me et 4me d'Infanterie Légère, 9me, 25me, 32me, 75me, 85me de Ligne, 3me, 15me et 18me Dragons, et 22me de Chasseurs qui sont en permission, congés, convalescents ou absent de leur Corps, pour quelque raison que ce soit, de se rendre le plutôt possible à Toulon, où ils trouveront des Bâtiments et des ordres pour rejoindre leur Corps.

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[1] See *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 98, where the caricature is reproduced. The expedition to St. Marcou or Marcouf, two small islands in the Channel, was undertaken by order of Bonaparte. The attack was repulsed, to the great disgust of Wolfe Tone, who says in his Autobiography (vol. ii. p. 314): "What! you are going to conquer England, and you cannot conquer the Isles Marcouf! It is a bad business, take it any way. I wonder will the Directory examine into it? If they do not seriously establish a rigid responsibility in the Marine, it is vain to think of opposing England by sea."

Consequences of a Successfull French Invasion
N°III. Plan 2d.—Me teach de English Republicans to work.—Scene. A Ploughed Field

CONSEQUENCES OF A SUCCESSFUL INVASION
By James Gillray. Plate 3

CHAPTER VI

ENGLISH CARICATURES OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE DURING THE EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN (MAY 19, 1798, TO OCTOBER 9, 1799)

"If the success of a descent upon England appear doubtful, as I suspect it will, the Army of England shall become the Army of the East, and I go to Egypt."—*Napoleon in Bourrienne's Memoirs*, vol. i. ch. xii.

"The conquest of Egypt and the restoration to France of her supremacy in India appealed to both sides of Bonaparte's nature."—J. HOLLAND ROSE, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 176.

THE definite news of the departure of Napoleon Bonaparte for the East had certainly not reached England, when, exactly a week later (May 26, 1798), Gillray produced one of the most effective of his caricatures against the Whigs, to which he gave the name of the "Shrine at St. Ann's Hill." In this print we see Fox with uplifted hands kneeling before an altar draped in green, with blood-stained daggers crossed on the frontal. The monstrance is shrouded by a huge cap of liberty ornamented with a tricolour cockade. In place of candlesticks are busts of Robertspeire (*sic*) and Buonaparte. By way of reredos is a blood-stained guillotine to which the Tables of the Law, lettered *Droits de l'Homme*, are suspended by a tricolour ribbon. Of the ten commandments given on the table the first is, "Right to worship whom we please"; the sixth, "Right to Kill"; the eighth, "Right to Plunder"; and the tenth, "Right to covet our neighbour's house, and all that in it is." Behind the guillotine hangs a yellow

To Be Seen Here ALIVE
The Noted
BONEY — PART
from EGYPT
Only Booth in the Fair
CIF
Anticipation — Ways and Means — or Buonaparte really taken !!

By Isaac Cruikshank, August 13, 1798

II

Je prie les Commissaires du Directoire Exécutif près les Administrations centrales des Departements, et Administrations Municipales, de faire publier et signifier le présent Ordre à ceux qu'il concerne, afin que s'ils participent pas aux dangers et à la gloire qu'acquéreront leurs Camarades, l'ignominie qui leur en reviendra, soit sans excuse.

III

Ceux des dits Officiers et Soldats, qui après la notification du présent Ordre, ne rejoindroient pas, n'ont pas contribué à nos victoires, ne peuvent être considérés comme faisant partie de ces Braves, auxquels l'Italie doit sa liberté, la France la paix, et la Republique la gloire.

Signé—BONAPARTE.

Le Général de Brigade, Chef Provisoire de l'État-Major Général.

MAX CAFFARELLI

À Toulon, chez P. J. Calmen, Imprimeur de la Marine, Rue de l'Égalité, près l'Hôpital de la Marine.

The Army of England and its leader were going to strike a blow at England's power on the banks of the Nile instead of those of the Thames.[1]

[1] On March 5, Berne had been occupied by the French troops. The greater part of the spoils of the city treasury, amounting to between twenty and thirty of millions of livres in gold and silver, was forwarded to Toulon to provide supplies for the Egyptian Campaign (*History of the Swiss People*, by F. G. Baker, pp. 417–20).

enthusiasm for the defence of the country is strongly reflected in the anonymous caricature "Feminine Contributions," in which we are introduced to a number of elderly, energetic, but (it must be frankly confessed) singularly ill-favoured British matrons. On a desk lies a huge roll of paper inscribed "Subscription Book." The principal spokeswoman says, addressing the rest: "Madame, let us show our patriotism. Besides, if these Bonapartes of *sans culottes* come here we shall all be seized and sacrificed." The rest make various replies, such as, "I have seen Bonaparte in my tea-cup"; a second, "God preserve us"; a third, "Let us write down our names in the subscription book"; a fifth, "The very idea will kill me"; and a sixth, "Let nobody doubt our virtue. We will all come to the assistance of our country."

On August 1, 1798, a very elaborate folding-plate by Gillray appeared in the current issue of the *Anti-Jacobin*.[1] It was entitled, "New Morality, or The promised Installment of the High Priest of the Theophilanthropes, with the Homage of Leviathan and his Suite." The central character in this wonderful composition, which includes quite one hundred figures, is the Duke of Bedford, the

[1] *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine, or Monthly Political and Literary Censor.* The publication of this review began in the summer of 1798 and continued till 1821. George Canning, William Gifford, and John Hookham Frere all contributed to it, but only the earlier volumes contain caricatures by Gillray, who designed the frontispiece of the first volume, which he entitled *A Peep into the Cave of Jacobinism. Magna est Veritas et praevalebit.* The figure of Truth, holding up a torch, unmasks the Demon "Equality," surrounded by its stock-in-trade of anarchy, sedition, ignorance, atheism, defamation, and so forth. Above Truth, who points triumphantly to a copy of the *Anti-Jacobin*, are angel-figures typifying Religion and Justice supporting the British Crown.

"Leviathan" of Burke's scathing denunciation.[1] Mr. Wright gives a full description of it, but seemingly misses the point that it was intended to ridicule the partly political, partly theological opinions of La Reveillière Lepaux, quite as much as the conduct of the English Jacobins.[2] Underneath it are five verses of eight lines each. The last has already been quoted.[3] The first runs thus :—

> "Behold!
> The Directorial LAMA, Sovereign Priest—
> LEPAUX—whom atheists worship—at whose nod
> Bow their meek heads—the men without a God;
> Ere long perhaps to this astonished Isle
> Fresh from the shores of subjugated Nile
> Shall BUONAPARTE'S victor Fleet protect
> The genuine Theo-philanthropic Sect."

At the very moment when London was laughing at the "Bedford-Leviathan," crouching humbly before the philosophical Director, who, perched on an altar, is vainly endeavouring to encircle the globe, Nelson was winning the battle of the Nile, and before nightfall Brueys was dead, and the ship which had conveyed Napoleon Bonaparte to Egypt blown to atoms! Gillray illustrated the lines—

> "And ye five other wandering bards that move
> In sweet accord of harmony and love
> C(oleri)dge, and S(ou)th(e)y, L(an)dor and L(am)b & Co.,
> Tune all your mystic harps to praise LEPAUX"—

by manikins with asses' ears, quite unconscious of the

[1] See *ante*, p. 93.
[2] *The Works of James Gillray, the Caricaturist*, pp. 246–47.
[3] See *ante*.

Caricature by C. Ansell, October 20, 1798

change which even now was taking place in their opinions. A picture which is wonderful in itself is made even more remarkable by the unfulfilled prophecy it contains, and the coincidence of date which associates it with the event which for a time put a bridle on Bonaparte's ambition.

England was still in ignorance of what had happened in Egypt when S. W. Fores published the caricature by Isaac Cruikshank entitled "Anticipation, or Bonaparte really taken" (August 13, 1798), from which we obtain an idea of the anxiety which prevailed regarding the possible capture of the chief of the Egyptian expedition on the high seas by Nelson. In the centre Fox, attired as a clown in a tricolour smock, acts as the showman at "the only booth in the fair." He points sadly to a gigantic and grotesque figure, painted on a canvas, of Bonaparte in Phrygian cap, chained to the stump of a tree, with a dagger in either hand. Above the head are the words: "To be seen here, taken alive, the noted Boney-part from Egypt, an undoubted likeness." Fox exclaims: "He is certainly taken. I never was so pleased at any event in the whole course of my life." In a chair to the right sits Pitt, trumpet in hand, with his gouty leg on a stool, addressing the yokels gathered round the show. He exclaims: "Believe me, I do not mean to deceive you this time; he is really taken, and in this booth at this present moment—out with your pence, good people; don't be so shy—tumble up, Mr. Bull, the only booth in the fair. Don't be alarmed; he is perfectly tame, I assure you!" On the edge of the platform rests an open salt-box, alluding to the recently imposed salt tax.

Leaving Toulon on May 19, Napoleon arrived, without let or hindrance, at Malta, which place was surrendered to him by the Knights of St. John on June 12 following. He remained there till the 19th of that month, when he set out for Alexandria, which he reached on July 1. On July 21 the Battle of the Pyramids was fought, and Cairo immediately occupied. It was at Cairo on August 14 (the eve of his twenty-ninth birthday) that he received the news of the disaster which had befallen the French fleet a fortnight previously. It was not till six weeks later that London went mad with delight over the news of Nelson's great victory. The caricaturists were soon at work; it was no longer a case of mere anticipation. The joy-bells had not ceased ringing when the crowd before Mistress Humphrey's shop-window in St. James's Street roared with laughter at Gillray's "Nelson's Victory, or Good News operating upon Loyal Feelings" (October 3, 1798). In this plate we see Fox, Sheridan, the Dukes of Bedford and Norfolk, Lord Lansdowne, Erskine, and Sir F. Burdett expressing in various ways their dislike to the news hailed with so much enthusiasm by the whole of England. Erskine lets fall a paper inscribed "Capture of Bonaparte's Dispatches," and the Duke of Norfolk tears up a news-sheet headed "Complete Destruction of Bonaparte's Fleet." Only three days later appeared a second Battle of the Nile caricature by Gillray (October 6, 1798) entitled "Extirpation of the Plagues of Egypt. Destruction of the Revolutionary Crocodile, or the British Hero cleansing the Mouth of the Nile." Thomas Rowlandson was doubtless already at work, and on October 9 Ackermann published "Fraternisation in Grand Cairo, or The Mad General

and his Bonny-Party likely to become Musselmen." While one follower of the Prophet puts a bowstring round Bonaparte's neck, another looks at him ferociously holding a knife in his mouth, while a third points suggestively to the Temple of Eunuchs. A French general is being strangled in the background, while others are strung on poles. Other caricatures of this period, like "John Bull taking a Luncheon, or British Cooks cramming old Grumble Gizzard with Bonne Chere" (Gillray, October 24, 1798), relate rather to Nelson than to Bonaparte; but this is not the case with Ansell's "Buonaparte in Egypt," which Fores produced on the same day. In this print we have a picture of two Turkish generals in the act of strangling some French officers, who cry, "Ah, my general was tell me he make my fortune!" Another Mameluke threatens Bonaparte with a sabre, and seizing him by the throat says, "As for you, you dog of no religion, I'll sacrifice you at the tomb of the Prophet whose name you have prophaned for the purpose of Murder, Rapine, and Plunder." Bonaparte, half-suffocated, replies: "Now, mild and gentle Sir, don't be so rough; do you think I would cut your throat, ravish your wives, or plunder your house? No, by Mahomet, I would not, Sacré Dieu, I would not. Ah, Diable, you'll choak me." Fox, Sheridan, and two of their colleagues are kneeling to the right, their hands stretched out in entreaty, while another Turk prepares a bowstring for their necks. Fox says, "Pray don't hurt our dear friend, he would not hurt man, woman, or child; he can't bear the sight of blood; as for plunder or deception, he is the determined enemy to both, by —— he is, and we are ready to swear it." The others in chorus,

"We swear it." The Turk with the bowstring, "You agree so well, I think I'll fix you together for life."

Rowlandson's caricature, "High Fun for John Bull, or The Republicans put to their last Shift" (Ackermann, November 12, 1798), has only an indirect Napoleonic interest, but it refers to the demand for ships made in France, Holland, and Spain by Bonaparte and the Directory after the battle of the Nile. Two of the characters make allusion to Nelson's victory, and the Dutchman, who is pushing a tray full of ships into a Dutch oven, cries, "Donder and Blaxan (*sic*) to this Fraternisation; instead of smoaking mine Pipes and sacking de Gold, dis French Broders make me build ships dot Mynheer Jon Bull may have de Fun to take dem."[1] In November 1798 Fores published "The Directory receiving Bad News," by Isaac Cruikshank. The five Directors are seated round a table in attitudes of despair. Four of them are on the point of committing suicide by poison, shooting, hanging, and stabbing, while the fifth crouches in hiding beneath the table-cloth. The floor is littered with papers inscribed "Nelson and the Nile," "Explanation of the Word Warren from the English Dictionary," "La Hogue taken," "Defeat off Tory Island," and so forth. A ragged messenger, who has brought more discouraging intelligence, advises them to seek safety in flight.

There is no mistake about the directness and the pungency of Gillray's "Fighting for the Dunghill, or Jack Tar settling Buonaparte" (Humphrey, November 20, 1798). "Jack Tar," and "Little Boney," sitting on the

[1] This print is reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 250.

Caricature by Isaac Cruikshank, January 1, 1799

top of the globe, are engaged in a death-struggle for the supremacy of the sea. Mr. Wright dismisses this very clever plate with the words, "John Bull giving Boney his Bellyfull," but he omits to notice that the gallant sailor who impersonates England has his foot firmly planted on Egypt and Malta.[1] On December 8, 1798, another large caricature by James Gillray was published by Humphrey. It bore the title of "Buonaparte hearing of Nelson's Victory swears by his Sword to extirpate the English from the Earth" (see Bonaparte's speech to the French Army at Cairo, published by authority of the Directors in Volney's letters). To the description of this remarkable creation of Gillray's genius Mr. Wright[2] devotes only five lines, which contain the wholly erroneous statement that "Napoleon's features were not at this time well known to the English caricaturists." It probably best suited the taste of the English consumer to depict him as a horrible and awe-inspiring monster—a modern edition of the traditional giant of the nursery tale. In this print Gillray portrays Bonaparte as a grotesque figure, wearing an enormous belt filled with daggers and pistols. He waves in his right hand a blood-stained sabre lettered *Égalité*, while he stamps under foot the notification of Nelson's naval triumph. To the evident astonishment of the messenger, who has brought the news on a camel, he shouts :—

"What! our fleet captured and destroyed by the slaves of Britain! By my sword, by holy Mahomet, I swear eternal vengeance! Yes, when I have subjected

[1] This caricature is reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 178, but the date is wrongly attributed to 1804.

[2] *Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, p. 177.

cent. on Income" and "Remaining fruits of industry," "If you don't come down with your Income Tax, I'll let *him* loose." To which J. B. rejoins, "Oh, spare my life and take all I have." On the wall is a Schedule of Farmer John's Income and Expenditure. Out of £200, after paying the taxes only £24 remains available for his support.

Gillray's large elaborate caricature, "Science in the Pillory. Siège de la Colonne de Pompée" (Humphrey, March 6, 1799), refers to the exploration scheme for which Bonaparte was mainly responsible. It has closer reference to Kleber and the French *savants*, a party of whom had been cut off while on the summit of Pompey's Pillar by a band of Bedouins. This intelligence is said to have been derived from an intercepted letter of Kleber dated November 27, 1798. It is equally difficult to trace direct connection between the personality of Bonaparte and the series of six plates by Gillray which Humphrey published only six days later (March 12);[1] but he is directly attacked in his "State of the War, or The Monkey-race in Danger" (Humphrey, May 20, 1799).

The position of European politics in the autumn of this year is admirably portrayed in Gillray's fine anti-Napoleonic caricature, "The Allied Powers unbooting Égalité" (Humphrey, September 1, 1799). In this plate we see that the Russian bear is helping Austria and Turkey to attack Bonaparte. While the Austrian pulls off the Italian Boot from his leg, the Turk threatens him with a bloody scimitar, inscribed *St. Jean d'Acre*. The Prince of Orange, crouching beneath Bonaparte, props

[1] These plates are explained by Messrs. Wright and Evans in their *Account of James Gillray's Caricatures*, pp. 178–79.

him up with Dutch cheese. Behind Bonaparte stands a stalwart British Tar on whose hat-ribbon are the words "Nelson," "Duncan," "Bridport," who prevents him from using the bloody daggers he holds in both hands. In the distance a number of peasants are dancing round a bonfire which is consuming the Tree of Liberty.

Things had not gone well with the Directory since Napoleon (his exchequer replenished with the spoils of the "Central Citadel" of Europe) had set out on his adventures in the East. The French vicissitudes in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere do not come within the sphere of this work, nor do the various caricatures relating to Suwarrow and his opponents.[1] How Napoleon and his companions managed to elude the vigilance of Nelson's cruisers it is difficult to understand, but from the moment he put his foot once again on French soil the English caricaturist was to know no rest for fifteen long years. All chance of the possible pacification of Europe was soon at an end.

[1] In the *Almanachs de Gotha* for 1799 and 1800 there are valuable accounts of all that occurred in Europe during the seventeen months (May 1798 to October 1799) of Bonaparte's absence from France.

(Interior), Gaudin (Finance), and Fouché (Police). Later Berthier and Lucian Bonaparte were succeeded by Carnot and Chaptal. Maret, the chief Secretary to the Consuls, was a tried politician, who had consistently striven in vain for peace. We shall henceforth hear no more of Sieyès and Barras, who retired to their country-seats, the former to Crosne. The face of La Réveillière-Lépeaux will also disappear, along with his dreamy Theophilanthropists, from the cartoons of Gillray, to whom new subjects will now suggest themselves. The references made by Napoleon's brother to "English gold," when the fate of Bonaparte trembled in the balance at St. Cloud, on the eventful 10th of November, are reflected in a number of French caricatures against England which appeared simultaneously with Bonaparte's historic peace-letter of Christmas Day 1799, to George III., the retirement of whose son, the Duke of York, from Holland in the autumn of the same year was also made the subject of a good many pictorial lampoons. In some ways the letter of Bonaparte to the British sovereign, already referred to, was a masterpiece, although it contrasted strangely with the satirical prints of George and Pitt which then filled the shop-windows of Paris. In any case the cold reception it met with enabled the French First Consul to pose successfully before his compatriots as the buffeted peacemaker.

It could not be expected that Gillray or his colleagues would miss the obvious opportunities of "Brumaire." On November 21, 1799, only eleven days after the *coup d'état* had taken place, Humphrey published "Exit Liberty *à la Française*, or Bonaparte closing the farce of Égalité at St. Cloud near Paris, November 10, 1799."

In this carefully finished print Napoleon is depicted in the act of directing the soldiery to attack a number of gorgeously robed Councillors, who precipitately retreat in all directions. Beneath his feet lie two papers, the one inscribed "List of the Council of 500," the other "Resignation of the Directors." The soldiers carry a banner bearing the device, "Vive le Triumvirat—Bonaparte, Sieyès, Ducos." In the following week (November 30, 1799), S. W. Fores published J. Cawse's "Satan's return from Egypt [1] discovered in Council with Belzebub and Belial. A Sketch after Fuseli." In this plate we see Bonaparte seated on a throne, Satanic figures on either side of him. Round his hat is a triangle formed of daggers lettered Bonaparté, Ducos, Abbáye Seyes (*sic*). His foot rests on a skull, and he tramples on papers inscribed *List of the Judges; Myself in Egypt, an Oratorio; Ça Ira; Hymn Marselas* (*sic*); and *Council of Cinq Cents.* Below a crowd of Jacobins with daggers in their hands shout *Down with the Convention, Up with the Committee. Vive Babeuf.* To this period also belongs a caricature on similar lines entitled "The Corsican Crocodile dissolving the Council of Frogs," published by Holland of Oxford Street, and another satirical print named "Buonaparte's Dance of Death," for the appearance of which J. C. Ziegler of Broad Street, Soho, was responsible. The six sections into which it is divided contain views of Napoleon's real or supposed adventures in the Mediterranean, concluding with his return to Paris. In "French Liberty at the Close of the Eighteenth Century" [2] a Paris street-urchin is depicted in the act

[1] The word "Egypt" is erased and that of "Earth" substituted for it.

[2] The same mistake in computing the centuries again frequently occurred n 1899.

of proffering a crown for Bonaparte's acceptance. This prophetic print was produced by Holland on December 4.

On New Year's Day 1800, Mistress Humphrey presented her customers with a fine Gillray caricature entitled "The French Consular Triumvirate settling the New Constitution, with a peep at the Constitutional pigeon-holes of the Abbé Seiyes (*sic*) in the background." We are shown the three Consuls clad in their fantastic robes of office seated round a table heavily laden with papers. Sieyès is also present. A line above the title is devoted to the obviously absurd statement that the figures are "true likenesses drawn at Paris, November 1799." On the gown of Bonaparte are the words, "J^s. Gillray fec^t." The boot of Bonaparte rests on the torn Constitutions of 1793. Devils are seen at work beneath the table hammering out fetters on an anvil. One of the packets of papers on the table is labelled "Buonaparte, Grande Monarque." While his colleagues bite their pens and the Abbé examines the pigeon-holes, Bonaparte is drawing up the new Constitution, the first articles of which are: "Buonaparte Grand Consul, Buonaparte Tout en tout."

On February 7, 1800 (the day on which public mourning had been decreed for George Washington), Bonaparte removed to the Tuileries. There was no mistake about it. He was already *tout en tout*. "No one but the great Corsican," writes Dr. J. Holland Rose, "would have dared to brave the comments which this coincidence provoked. But it was necessary to France, and all men knew it. At the first sitting of the provisional Consuls, Ducos had said to him, 'It is useless to vote about the presidency; it belongs to you of right'; and,

By John Cawse, January 30, 1800

despite the wry faces pulled by Sieyès, the general at once took the chair."

The olive branch extended by the First Consul to George III. at the end of the old year received a cold and unsympathetic response at the beginning of the new. It was, moreover, such a reply as courted a crushing rejoinder, reminding the King of the relative position of the Houses of Brunswick and Stuart in the matter of direct descent. On January 30, 1800, Fores published John Cawse's " The Grand Consul of the Great Nation ! ! perusing John Bull's Dispatches." Bonaparte is portrayed in the act of reading a document, which he holds in his right hand, on which are discernible the words, " Mounseer Beau Naporty, I read your *parly vouse*, and have only to say I was not born yesterday, take that as you like it, I am not easily humm'd, look before you leap is a good old proverb, take two bites at a cherry, old birds are not easily caught by chaff, yours as you behave yourself, Bull." From his left hand drops a letter inscribed : " Conquest of the Chouans, an old song to a new tune." At the side of Bonaparte stand Cambacérès and Lebrun. This amusing caricature is now reproduced. On February 24, Humphrey published " The Apples and the Horse-turds, or Buonaparte amongst the Golden Pippins," a somewhat vulgar adaptation of the old fable of the " Horse-turds and the Pippins." It was said to have been suggested " by Napoleon's letter to His Majesty and Mr. Whitbread's [1] remarks upon the correspondence between crowned heads." It ridicules

[1] Samuel Whitbread (1758–1815), a strong Foxite, whose political sympathies were, as a rule, with Napoleon. One of his last acts was to protest against the coalition which led to Napoleon's discomfiture at Waterloo. Whitbread constantly appears in Napoleonic caricatures.

the First Consul's wish to fraternise with Royalty. He is consequently depicted as swimming towards the Austrian, Russian, and British pippins, and exclaiming: "Aha! par ma foi! How we apples swim."

The interception on the high seas of certain letters addressed by Kleber to the extinct Directory, in which the Republican General bitterly attacked the Commander-in-Chief for quitting Egypt, formed the *raison d'être* of Gillray's next caricature, in which there is for the first time some slight attempt at a serious portrait of Bonaparte. It is entitled "Buonaparte leaving Egypt," and was published by Humphrey on March 8. The design is said to have originated in Kleber's remarks "respecting the courage, honour, and patriotic views of the deserter of the army of Egypt." A figure of Fame, trumpet in hand, points to Buonaparte in the act of embarking on the *Muiron*. The Commander-in-Chief, on the other hand, points to a crown and sceptre. The prow of the ship is composed of a *crowned* head with two faces. Three generals, who have already gone on board, clasp well-filled money-bags in their arms. The army on the sea-shore is composed to a great extent of monkeys. These caricatures, to the mind of the writer, conclusively show that the dreams of sovereignty which were realised four years later were already matters of common discussion in 1800. Four days later a further attempt to discredit the First Consul was made by the publication (Humphrey, May 12, 1800) of another Gillray caricature called "Democracy, or A Sketch of the Life of Buonaparte." In eight panels the artist burlesques the story of Napoleon's career. These vignettes are entitled "Democratic Innocence"; "Demo-

would prefer the Mint Seed to aw the Republican Pills in the world."[1] In the pocket of the Premier is a huge pair of forceps lettered "Income Tax," as well as a document headed "Consultation on the Power of Mint Seed." Holding out his three-cornered hat towards the First Consul, who is pointing with his sword to a heap of cannon balls, Pitt says, "Why, I tell you, Doctor Buonaparte, nothing can effect a complete deliverance but my prescription; it is the most efficacious remedy in the world."[2] Bonaparte replies, "I deny that, Doctor; my Pills are far more certain in their operation and much quicker in their effect. For instance, you have been fourteen months in attempting to deliver Italy and I have delivered her in a single day, but I refer you to Doctor Melas and Doctor Kray, who have both tried my Pills and found them irresistible; therefore, Doctor, if you do not immediately acknowledge the superiority of my Pills, by Mohamed, I will make you." In his left hand he holds three cannon balls. A French general in attendance points a blunderbuss at the Emperor of Austria, whose identity is made clear by the two-headed eagle on his sword-hilt.

This caricature necessitates some brief allusion to the course of affairs in France, where the magic influence of Napoleon's strong personality gathered strength day by day. It was on March 17, 1800, that he spread out the

[1] This sentence foreshadows the charges subsequently made against Dundas, who was created first Viscount Melville in 1802. Gillray was later quite as severe on Dundas as he was on Bonaparte.

[2] A Foreign Office Dispatch to Vienna, dated Downing Street, February 8, 1800, promised a loan ("Mint Seed"), and that 15,000 or 20,000 British troops should be employed in the Mediterranean to act in concert with the Austrians. The extensive subsidies expected from England by the Allies necessitated the imposition of the income and other taxes.

cratic Humility" ; "Democratic Gratitude" ; "Democratic Religion" ; "Democratic Courage" ("Buonaparte deserting his army in Egypt for fear of the Turks, after boasting he would extirpate them all") ; "Democratic Honour" ("Buonaparte overturning the French Republic which had employed him and given him the chief command") ; "Democratic Glory" ("Buonaparte as Grand Consul of France receiving the adulations of Jacobin Sycophants and Parasites") ; and "Democratic Consolations" ("Buonaparte on his couch, surrounded by the Ghosts of the Murdered, the dangers which threaten his usurpation, and all the horrors of final retribution"). Each of these groups is so minutely drawn as to constitute a complete picture, in which no detail calculated to give it piquancy is missed. On July 1, Fores published the remarkable caricature, reproduced as one of the illustrations of this volume, entitled "The Rival Accoucheurs, or Who shall deliver Europe?" It has been attributed to Ansell, but in the opinion of the present writer it possesses many of the characteristics of Isaac Cruikshank.

The portrait of Bonaparte is the best as yet attempted by any British caricaturist, and the figures of Pitt and Dundas are both perfectly recognisable. In the left-hand corner, behind Dundas, is a sack overflowing with the "mint seed" of the Treasury, to which the First Consul persistently made such caustic reference. In a harlequin dress of Scotch plaid, the Secretary of War holds in his right hand the now inevitable salt-box, while from his pocket protrudes a packet of papers inscribed "Mint seed for my own practice." He says, "Hoot, mon, I never knew a countryman of mine but

caricatures which lasted till the end of the year—and the century.

After reaching Paris by the Mont Cenis the First Consul lost no time in opening up negotiations with the inconstant Czar, who was ready to quit the now tottering Second Coalition and make his peace with the conqueror. Napoleon sent back the Russian prisoners to their native country, and offered to place Malta[1] in the hands of the Czar as "Grand Master of the Knights of St. John." To Kalicheff, whom Paul sent to Paris, Bonaparte was ready to promise anything, for had not the vacillating son of the great Catherine counselled him to become the founder of a dynasty, and so emphasise the declaration that the Revolution was "finished"? On Lord Grenville declining to allow the garrison in Egypt to be revictualled, the fury of the First Consul against England became intensified. He succeeded in prejudicing the Czar to such an extent that Paul actually proposed a Franco-Russian invasion of India, and in furtherance of the plan arranged for the mustering of an army of 35,000 men at Astrakan.[2] No sooner did Paul hear of the capitulation of Malta than he revived the Armed Neutrality League of 1780. Meanwhile further misfortunes overtook Austria. The victory of Moreau at Hohenlinden (December 2, 1800) and "the turning of her fortresses on the Mincio, by the brilliant passage of the Splügen in the depths of winter by Macdonald, a feat far transcending that of Bonaparte at the St. Bernard,"[3] combined to compel her to a speedy peace.

[1] As a matter of fact, Malta surrendered to the British force by which it was invested on September 5, 1800.

[2] Dr. J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 262.

[3] *Idem*, p. 260.

HOP STEP *and* JUMP

By Roberts, January 1, 1801

Before the year was out Napoleon's head was full of grandiose designs, and it must be confessed there was much to encourage him. As Dr. Holland Rose very happily puts it, "The transformation scene ushered in by the nineteenth century was (for him) one of extraordinary brilliance. Italy, from the Alps to her heel, controlled by the French; Austria compelled to forego all her Italian plans; Switzerland and Holland dominated by the First Consul's influence; Spain following submissively his imperious lead; England, despite all her naval triumphs, helpless on land, and France rapidly regaining more than all her old prestige and stability under the new institutions, which form the most enduring tribute to the First Consul's glory." [1]

On the first day of the new century S. W. Fores published an anonymous caricature which reflects with sufficient clearness the political situation. It was entitled "Foreign Amusements, or The British Lion on the Watch." In it are depicted various animals belonging to the European Menagerie. A bear, wearing a collar inscribed "Paulo," holds a number of vessels chained and padlocked in his paws. A lion crouching regards his proceedings expectantly. The Bear says, "My brother the Eagle (Napoleon) is doing the business by land, so I'll try a little by water, and in the first place I'll padlock these little articles—they look so well in my port; besides, Johnny Bull has enough and to spare of these little articles." In the background a number of eagles are seen on the march. The foremost of them is double-headed and carries a banner. This bird cries, "March, my companions, march! Success to

[1] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 265.

Brother Bruin." The Lion rejoins, "This may be pretty amusement to you; but if once I take a leap amongst you, you'll find a little difference." It must be remembered that after the battle of Hohenlinden both Russia and Austria had retired from the ill-starred Second Coalition.

On the very same day Thomas Tegg of Cheapside published another anonymous caricature which makes it evident that threats of invasion must have again been prevalent. It is entitled "Hop, Step, and Jump," and shows Bonaparte leaping over a series of rocks, lettered "Corsica," "France," "Ambition," "Power," "Calais," and "Dover." On the latter he is received by John Bull on the point of his sword. In the sea below the rocks are the words "Hop, Step, and Jump" and the lines :—

"From indigence in Corsica to affluence in France,
From aspiring ambition to the summit of power,
From Calais to Dover, where little John Bull does the Corsican over." [1]

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[1] A popular song of the period bore the title of this caricature :—

"At the 'Sign of the George,' a national set
(It fell out on a recent occasion),
A Briton, a Scot, and Hibernian were met
To discourse 'bout the threat'n'd invasion.

The liquor went round, they joked and they laughed,
Were quite pleasant, facetious, and hearty;
To the health of their King flowing bumpers they quaff'd,
With confusion to great Buonaparte.

Quoth John, 'Tis reported, that snug little strait
Which runs between Calais and Dover,
With a hop, step, and *jump,* that the Consul elate
Intends in a trice to skip over.

London Pub.d by W.m Holland & Co. 30 Oxford Street. Feb.y 5. 1801

Crazy Paul!!

A New Ballad—to the Tune of Crazy Jane.

Why fear We in every Letter
Are such signs of rage expressed,
Can a mere Struck Russian Tailor
Drive the Fleet of France from Brest?
Do you dread my late embargoes
Trust me soon my power will fall,
Man your wooden ships your cargoes,
Fear no harm from Crazy Paul!

2

Do you mark my fierce defiance
Get like me—for glorious fun,
Search the globe round for alliance
League with all—adhere to none.
Once for them I fought courageous,
(Twas a lucid interval)
But a Gallic pest contagious
Took the wits of Crazy Paul!

Malta's Isle your Fleet, Blockaded,
Martin's skill each hope secures,
Silly I, by France persuaded,
Thought it mine—but found it yours!
Little Paul, no more, Grand Master,
Mad with baby rage, I bawl,
Malta fell—but how much faster
Fled the Faith of Crazy Paul.

4

Now for Gallia's cause right hearty,
Fickle as the passing air,
Led about by Buonaparte,
Grovelling Poke a dancing bear.
Now I shame the sons of Russia,
While intent to work my fall,
Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia
Cry, "Come safe us, Crazy Paul!"

By Isaac Cruikshank, February 5, 1801

A few days later Holland (still at 50 Oxford Street) published another caricature, in which the Czar and his ally the First Consul are equally attacked. It was named "Pills for Paul, or English Prescriptions for Northern Complaints." The Emperor Paul vomits ships with the assistance of a Doctor (Addington [1]) in black, who says to his attendants, "John and James, you may return; we shan't want your assistance, or the strait-waistcoat this time—the Nelson Pills seem sufficiently to operate of themselves." The first of the attendants, carrying a strait-waistcoat inscribed "Willis's Composers," [2] says, "Some of the first-rates stick a little in his throat, I perceive." Close to the Doctor is a case of cannon balls labelled "Nelson's Pills."

The success of this print probably encouraged Mr. Holland to another venture on similar lines. On February 5, 1801, he published the caricature broadside "Crazy Paul," in which Isaac Cruikshank portrays the Russian bear being dragged along by a chain the end

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Let him try every cunning political stroke,
And devise every scheme that he's able;
He'll find us as firm and as hard to be broke
As the bundle of sticks in the fable.'

The Scot and Hibernian replied, 'You are right—
Let him go the whole length of his tether;
When England and Scotland and Ireland unite
They defy the whole world put together.'"

[1] This is the first appearance in the series of caricatures against Napoleon of Henry Addington (1757–1844), who was to succeed Pitt as Premier two months later (March 14). He was created Viscount Sidmouth in 1805. His father was a well-known physician. Hence the nickname of the "Doctor," which stood the caricaturists in good stead.

[2] This allusion refers to Francis Willis, M.D. (1718–1807), the specialist in mental diseases, who was called in during one or more of the illnesses of George III.

siderably enlarged the caricaturist's list of *dramatis personæ*. We shall now meet frequently not only with the Premier, who bore a certain vague resemblance to Pitt, but with the Duke of Portland (President of the Council), Lord St. Vincent (First Lord of the Admiralty), the Earl of Chatham (Master of the Ordnance), and Lord Eldon (Lord Chancellor).

The change of Premier is not recognised in the anonymous caricature published March 18, 1801, by J. Garbanati, 4 Great Russell Street, Bedford Square. In this print Pitt, dressed in blue coat and yellow breeches and holding a staff in his hand, drags along by a chain three muzzled bears and a two-headed eagle (*sic*). On their collars are the words "Paul," "Denmark," "Sweden," and "Prussia." On the head of the bear Paul (who was doomed to die a violent death within the week), Napoleon is sitting in the guise of a monkey. The showman (Pitt), addressing John Bull, who is accompanied by his brother Andrew playing the bagpipes and wearing a kilt, says, "I hope you'll remember the showman, Mr. Bull; you will not see so fine a sight every day—the great Russian bear, the small bears from Denmark and Sweden, and the famous black Prussian eagle with two heads. Pray remember the showman; I have often asked you for money for things of less moment." John Bull, in smock-frock, replies, "Why, it be a comical sight, sure enough, and how that little monkey guides the great bear about." The Scotch Piper says, "By St. Andrew, I'll play them an embargo lilt." [1]

[1] Nelson had now set sail for Copenhagen. Pitt anticipated the break-up of the Armed Neutrality League inspired by Napoleon, as the probable outcome of Nelson's coming action, which took place on April 2—just a fortnight later than the date of the print.

Caricature of March 18, 1801

That Napoleon found England a more difficult nut to crack than he cared to own is suggested by the anonymous satirical print the "Consular Toy," in which he is represented as playing on an instrument of three notes—England, Ireland, and Scotland. The First Consul in despair says, "These treble notes destroy all the rest." In the collection of the writer is an original drawing of this period by Isaac Cruikshank for a caricature which was to be called "John Bull in Sweden, or The Approach of the Extinguisher." On the right Bonaparte, Russia, and Denmark are carrying a gigantic patent extinguisher towards John Bull and his Swedish Ally. The Russian Bear says, addressing Denmark and Bonaparte: "Keep it steady, my boys, and we'll soon put them out." Sweden, who cowers behind John Bull with a bag labelled "Lombardy" in his right hand, and Stockholm in the background, exclaims: "I declare, Master Bull, they *are* coming. I hope you will stand by me, and I also hope you have got some more money, as I can't hold out." John Bull, in smock-frock and grasping an oaken cudgel, replies: "Don't be afraid; you stick to me, and I'll stick to you."

That Napoleon had some sympathisers amongst Pitt's adversaries on this side of the Channel is shown in the caricature issued at this juncture by Roberts of 28 Middle Row, Holborn, entitled "John Bull's Prayer to Peace, or The Flight of Discord." In this Napoleon, escorted by Peace, is seen in the act of driving away Pitt, the Spirit of Discord. The advocates of peace evidently hoped much from the accession of the less bellicose Addington to office.

The news of Nelson's success before Copenhagen and

the tragedy at St. Petersburg convinced Napoleon that the pacific disposition of the Addington Ministry ought not to be trifled with. Certain specific demands were formulated by Great Britain on April 19,[1] which Napoleon rejected as inadmissible. Counter proposals were made on his part, during the consideration of which the First Consul contrived to set Spain and Portugal by the ears. In August Nelson made an unsuccessful attack on the Boulogne flotilla (August 15—Napoleon's thirty-second birthday), and a fortnight later General Menou was compelled to agree to the evacuation of Egypt by his troops. Napoleon now became increasingly anxious for peace, and Otto was requested "to push the negotiations to a conclusion before the 10th Vendémiaire." The news of the signature of the preliminaries of peace reached the First Consul at Malmaison on October 1, the 9th Vendémiaire, as he had desired. Three days later he signed a decree depriving the Theophilanthropists of the use of the churches which had hitherto been allowed them. Before the week was out he had welcomed Cardinal Caprera, the legate of the Holy See, at the Tuileries. On November 9 a proclamation to the people on the subject of the Peace was drawn up, and public rejoicings took place in honour of the event.[2]

The progress of Otto's mission was carefully watched in England, where the desire for peace became daily more and more general. In September Roberts published an anonymous caricature, "Negotiation See-Saw." Napoleon and John Bull are amusing themselves on the see-saw of Peace and War. Napoleon says, "There,

[1] J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 310.
[2] Schuermans, *Itinéraire*, pp. 122–23.

Name this Child.
I hope he will abolish the Slave Trade
You need not say any thing about the Murder in Paris.
DELIVERER of EUROPE
& PACIFICATOR of the WORLD.
The CHILD and CHAMPION of JACOBINISM. NOW CHRISTENED

By C. Ansell, October 26, 1801

Johnny, now I am down and you are up. Then I go up and you go down, Johnny, so we go on." It was ever so with the discussions between Otto and Lord Hawkesbury. On October 6, Humphrey published Gillray's "Preliminaries of Peace, or John Bull and his little Friends marching to Paris." Addington, Fox, Petty,[1] Lord Moira, Sheridan, Burdett, and others are preparing to cross the Channel on a plank inscribed *Heart of Oak.* In the distance the French dance round a tree of Liberty. In the waters float helplessly a bag labelled "Fourteen millions," "List of soldiers and sailors killed," "Map of Egypt," "Malta," "Restoration of French monarchs," &c. Addington leads the way, a drum round his neck, which he is beating with an olive branch in one hand and a roll of paper inscribed *Preliminaries* in the other From his pocket protrudes a packet marked *Instructions from Park Place.*[2] In his cap is a ribbon lettered *Peace.* Leading the way across the plank he shouts, "Allons, enfants de la patrie! Now is your time, Johnny! My dear boys! Did not I promise long ago to take my friends by the hand and lead them on a march to the gates of Paris? Allons, vive la Liberté!!" John Bull is following him, the rest of the *dramatis personæ* clinging to his skirts. He shouts, waving his hat: "Rule, Britannia, Britannia rules (*sic*) the waves!!! *Ça ira, Ça ira!!*"

On October 26 Fores published an interesting carica-

[1] This is the first Napoleonic caricature in which Henry Petty (1780–1863) appeared. He was now only twenty-one. In 1806 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Grenville. In 1809 he succeeded his brother as third Marquis of Lansdowne.

[2] At this time the Earl of Malmesbury, who had been Ambassador in Paris, 1796–97, resided at Park Place, Henley, where he lived until he sold it in 1818.

ture by Ansell entitled "The Child and Champion of Jacobinism now christened. *Vide* Pitt's Speech."[1] Bonaparte as First Consul leans over a font, the base of which is composed of Sphinxes. An English bishop is holding an open prayer-book, in which one reads the words: "When the laws are made, the people have only to obey." He says, "Name the child." Pitt replies, "Delivered of Europe, pacificator of the world." Between Pitt and the Bishop stand a man and woman, seemingly the other god-parents. The first (Wilberforce[2]) says, "I hope he will abolish the slave trade." The other, disguised as a French peasant woman, says, "You need not say anything about the march to Paris."

It was on his road from Weymouth to Windsor that the preliminaries of peace were submitted to George III., who spoke contemptuously of the agreement between the two countries as a "delusive truce." Dr. Holland Rose describes it happily as "a feverish pause," and the caricaturists certainly treated it as such. On November 9, the day before that on which Bonaparte received Lord Cornwallis,[3] the English plenipotentiary, Humphrey published a very fine caricature by Gillray bearing the title of "Political Dreamings, Visions of Peace, Perspective Horrors." To this extraordinary plate Mr. Thomas Wright does ample justice:[4] "Windham, leader of the

[1] Pitt was at this time favourable to Addington and the policy he had adopted.

[2] William Wilberforce (1759–1833). After twenty years' constant efforts hi Bill for the abolition of slavery received the royal assent in 1807.

[3] Charles, 1st Marquis, 2nd Earl Cornwallis (1738–1805). Lord Cornwallis figures in several caricatures issued at this juncture. In 1798 he had compelled Humbert to capitulate in Ireland. He had retired from office in 1801, on the Emanicipation question.

[4] *The Works of James Gillray, the Caricaturist*, p. 178.

By C. Ansell, December 1, 1801

opposition to peace, had employed his eloquence to conjure up the evils which one section of the community anticipated :—

> 'Windham's in prognostics stout,
> But who the deuce can find them out?'

"His rest (on a gorgeous couch) is disturbed by political dreamings, which convey the most lugubrious forebodings. A vulture, symbolical of France, perched on a branch of laurel (which surmounts the head of the bed), is hissing 'Peace,' while its talons are dug into the heart of a hare, its victim. The treaty of peace is marked England's 'Death Warrant.' Lord Hawkesbury is sleepily signing it, while Pitt, his finger to his lips, is guiding the hand of his protégé. Bonaparte is dragging Britannia to the guillotine; she is in fetters, and her shield and trident are broken; a ghastly skeleton of Death is holding the cord in readiness to release the knife. This figure, which wears a gorgeous Phrygian cap, is mounted upon stilts—darts of Death; the points are destroying all that Englishmen were supposed to regard with peculiar pride; her lists of conquests—Cape of Good Hope, Malta, Egypt, &c., crowns, mitres, the ensigns of Monarchy, besides the national roast-beef, plum pudding, and old stout. St. Paul's Cathedral is in flames, a Republican ensign is floating over the Tower, and a French fleet occupies our waters. Fox, as the demon of Revolution, is chanting *Ça ira*. On one side are the headless ghosts of the French nobility and clergy, early victims of the new Government, and a long file of decapitated British peers are petitioning the dreamer: 'Ah! see what is become of poor Englishmen of con-

sequence!' Justice appears at the side of the bed in an agonised and humiliating position, her swords and scales are powerless. The Whigs, supposed to count upon Britain's downfall for their personal gratification, are represented as rats eager for the smallest pickings. 'The hunger of the party is too great for the national larder,' said Horne Tooke; 'hence they are reduced to the necessity of cutting a small loaf into many slices, and tearing a little fish into many pieces.' The spoilers are feasting on a box of Treasury candle-ends. Erskine and Sheridan have secured the tit-bits of 'place'; Tierney and the Dukes of Bedford and Norfolk have the run of the office; M. A. Taylor, Lord Derby, and Walpole[1] are hastening to secure their share of the 'cheese-parings of pension and place, upon which Nicholls, Colonel Hanger,[2] Horne Tooke, and Sir John Shuckborough are greedily regaling."

It will be interesting to note that this plate, having been first copied for publication in Germany, was some years later, probably in 1809, adapted by the Prussian artist Starke to the exigencies of the political situation of that time, and published in the magazine *London-Paris*, under the altered title "Napoleon's Traum" ("Napoleon's Dream").[3] Napoleon is depicted as the sleeper instead of Windham. The headless corpses of the French *noblesse* and British aristocracy on either side of him were transformed into those of the Duc

[1] George Walpole (1758–1835). A staunch supporter of Fox, M.P. for Derby, 1797–1806, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1806–7.

[2] George Hanger, 4th Baron Coleraine (1754–1824). His *Life, Adventures and Opinions*, were published in 1801. He was an intimate friend of the Prince of Wales, but in spite of his Whiggism made plans for the defence of the country.

[3] See *post*, vol. ii. ch. xxii. and Appendix E, 102 and 86.

By C. Ansell, January 9, 1802

d'Enghien and Villeneuve, and of Hofer, Palm, and Schill. Fox, although long since dead, still continues to chant the *Ça ira*, but Death on stilts now tramples on the agreement for the Confederation of the Rhine and the great Code which still gives Napoleon immortality with the jurists. Pitt and Hawkesbury have vanished, and it is the ghost of the Tyrolese patriot which points to the reeking guillotine! Such was the far-reaching influence of James Gillray, whose signature is still discernible on the adapted print.

It was not till December 1 that Fores publishes the caricature "The Balance of Power," attributed to Ansell, which is now reproduced. Bonaparte in full uniform, sword in hand, weighs down one scale of a gigantic balance, to the dismay of Pitt and the Lord Chancellor (presumably Lord Eldon). Pitt says, "So this is the Balance of Power we have been making such a fuss about. A pretty piece of business we have made of it. Curse that sword of his; 'tis that has made us kick the beam." This is the last caricature of 1801, the year in which Napoleon commenced the beautifying of Paris, and the carrying out of many improvements in the capital as well as in various parts of France which still remain enduring memorials of his greatness.

Negotiations for the conclusions of the definite "Treaty of Peace" between the two Governments were commenced at Amiens almost immediately after Napoleon's interview with Lord Cornwallis at Paris on November 10, 1801. It soon became evident that the well-meaning English statesman of sixty-three was no match for the comparatively juvenile Joseph Bonaparte, with the astute Talleyrand as his helper and adviser.

Differences arose between the plenipotentiaries at every turn, but they were invariably decided to the disadvantage of England. This unsatisfactory state of things soon became an open secret both in London and Paris. The state of public opinion in England at the commencement of 1802 is reflected in Ansell's caricature, "A Game at Chess," published by Fores on January 9. The players are Bonaparte and Lord Cornwallis. In this print (now reproduced) we have at last a really fine portrait of the First Consul. Bonaparte says, "Check to your King. Remember it is not the first time, and I think a few manœuvres more will completely convince you that I am better acquainted with the game than you are aware of." Cornwallis replies, "Curse it, I shall lose this game; you are too good for me."

This print, like Gillray's "Political Dreamings,"[1] was utilised for Continental consumption by the editors of *Paris-Berlin*. In the foreign adaptation an elaborate symbolical picture of Peace was introduced on the wall of the room in which the game is supposed to be played.

During a considerable portion of January the First Consul and his wife were at Lyons. It was there on January 26 he was elected President of the Cisalpine Republic. On the following day, to the dismay of the Emperor of Germany and in open defiance of the terms of the treaty of Lunéville, he accepted the proffered honour. In this transaction the influence of Talleyrand is clearly perceptible. The breaking of one solemn international agreement at Lyons did not help the making of another at Amiens. Lord Hawkesbury grew more and more distrustful, and Cornwallis trembled for the prospects of

[1] See *ante*, pp. 148–50, and *post*, vol. ii. ch. xxii. and Appendix E, 40.

There is great delay in our negociation coming to a conclusion, and I understand our People are very uneasy & think you should be Humbugging us — had first having would have given cause for many complaints and to tell you the truth I put for me little to know what your intention is.
I have to tell you Sir, that I do not choose to give you the information you seem to want — and whether I sign or not is of little consequence to the Republican government — our fleet I am sure will pick up something.
CROSS EXAMINATION

By C. Ansell, February 8, 1802

the treaty he seemed determined to carry through at all costs. To Ansell is also attributed the caricature "Cross-examination," published early in February by Fores, and now given as an illustration. Lord Cornwallis in uniform takes Bonaparte by the collar, saying: "There is great delay in our negotiations coming to a conclusion, and I understand our people are very uneasy lest you should be humbugging us. Your Fleet having sailed has given cause for many conjectures; and to tell you the truth, it puzzles me a little to know what your intention is." Bonaparte, resting both hands on his sabre, replies: "I have to tell you, Sir, that I do not choose to give you the information you seem to wait for, and wether (*sic*) I sign or not is of little consequence to the Republican Government. Our fleet, I am in hopes, will pick up something."

On February 12, Lord Hawkesbury informed Lord Cornwallis that—

"The proceedings at Lyons have created the greatest alarm in this country, and there are many persons who were pacifically disposed who since this event are desirous of renewing the war. . . . The Government here are desirous of avoiding notice of these proceedings, and are sincerely desirous to conclude the peace, if it can be obtained on terms consistent with our honour."

Further complications were occasioned by the attacks on Bonaparte published in London by the *émigré* Peltier in his paper *L'Ambigu*. The condign punishment of the offender was peremptorily demanded by the First Consul, in total disregard of the attitude his inspired organs maintained towards England and England's king. On March 22

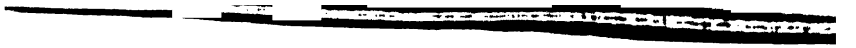
Lord Hawkesbury again wrote to Cornwallis: "I need not remind you of the importance of sending your most expeditious messenger the moment our fate is determined. *The Treasury is almost exhausted, and Mr. Addington cannot well make his loan in the present state of uncertainty.*" The financial straits of the Addington Ministry possibly overcame such scruples as the cajolery of Joseph Bonaparte and the diplomatic skill of Talleyrand had failed to remove from the mind of their opponent. On the morning of Friday, March 26,[1] the news of the definite signing of the Treaty of Amiens reached the First Consul at the Tuileries. "The Peace of Amiens," writes Dr. J. Holland Rose,[2] "left France the arbitress of Europe, and, by restoring to her all her lost colonies, it promised to place her in the van of the oceanic and colonising peoples."

The rejoicings in England over the Peace so dearly bought were short-lived. The caricaturist, at any rate, still continued to watch the tortuous policy of the First Consul of France and the President of the Cisalpine Republic. In April the British public were regaled with a large number of satirical prints, such as "Going to Cut a Turkey" (Holland, April 12), "A Peaceable Pipe" (Holland, April 14), and "A Battle Royal" (Holland, April 20).

In this plate, which is now reproduced, the disturbed state of the political atmosphere of Europe at this juncture is very cleverly portrayed by an anonymous artist. Napoleon as a cock shouts defiantly, "Cock-a-doodle-doo!"; the Russian bear menacing a turbaned Turkey

[1] Schuermans, *Itinéraire*, p. 127.
[2] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 354.

A BATTLE ROYAL
April 20, 1802



growls, "I'll have a family bite at him, which, with a good Russian hug, will, I think, do for him." The Germanic Empire shrieks, "By the Imperial Sceptre I'll finish him and eat him with Bullet sauce;" while Prussia (erroneously depicted as a two-headed eagle) asserts her intention of "having a Prussian peck at his turban." Turkey, in despair, exclaims, "Was ever poor Turkey in such a perilous situation? But I'll fight it out!"

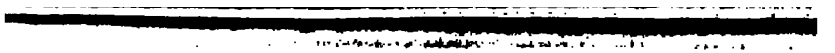
On May 14 Fores published Ansell's "A Trip to Paris, or John Bull and his Spouse invited to the Honours of the City." In this caricature Bonaparte is supposed to say, "Indeed, Mr. Bull, I am quite charmed with you; there is something so easy and polite in your manner." Bull replies, "Come, come, Mounseer Boney-party, that is all gammon, d'ye see. Damn me, if I know any more about politeness than a cow does of a new shilling." The wife, Ireland, remarks, "For shame, Mr. Bull, what will the jontleman think of your Blarney about Gammon and Cows and Bodder and nonsense. By St. Patrick I must send you to Kilkenny to larn good breeding."

In another clever print, "The Consular Warehouse, or A Great Man nail'd to the Counter" (Holland, May 20), Cawse portrays Bonaparte in the act of *selling* Trinidad and Ceylon to John Bull. This clause of the Treaty of Amiens, almost the only concession in any way favourable to Great Britain, is also emphasised in "Mr. and Mrs. Bull looking into their Accounts" (Roberts), in which Napoleon is seen pointing triumphantly to those islands, while Addington urges the old couple to accept the Treaty saying, "Oh, Johnny, look what this gentleman has to show you." In the "Merry-Go-Round in

Honour of the Peace" (Roberts), Woodward drew Napoleon, in his Consular uniform, playing the clarinet and beating the tambourine, while the seven powers of Europe, including John Bull, dance round him in a circle to the tune of *Ça ira*. A little later the prevailing state of suspicion as to Bonaparte's good faith is foreshadowed in the clever anonymous caricature "Parcelling out John Bull" (Roberts), which is reproduced. In it is seen Bonaparte with a gigantic pair of compasses approaching John Bull, the different parts of whose body are labelled "Breeches-pocket department," "Fob department," &c. He says, "He really will make a pretty addition to my Departments." John Bull replies, "Harkee, young one, you have forgotten the fist department, and if you don't take away your d——d compasses, I'll give you a relish of it. Cut me out, indeed! why, I'll fight you with one hand tied behind me." That England no longer trusted Bonaparte clearly appears from "The Corsican Conjuror raising the Plagues of Europe."

In spite of the croakings of the caricaturists there is no ominous cloud visible on the Paris horizon. On August 2 the French Senate by a *senatus consultum* made him Consul for life, with the right of naming a successor. It is unnecessary to say that the rejoicings on the occasion of Napoleon's thirty-third birthday, a fortnight later, assumed the proportions of a national fête. Visitors from England now flocked to Paris in very big battalions. Amongst them were some of the statesmen who had so often figured in English satirical prints. Under the date September 2, M. Schuermans records the presentation of Mr. Fox to the First Consul *ad vitam*—"In the evening there was a dinner of two

PARCELLING OUT JOHN BULL
Autumn, 1802



hundred. Mr. Fox was amongst the guests." In "The National Institute's First Interview with their President" (Roberts), we see Fox, Sheridan, the Duke of Bedford, and Sir F. Burdett paying homage to Napoleon. To Ansell is attributed the plate "English Patriots bowing at the Shrine of Despotism" (Fores, November 5), in which the *dramatis personæ* are Fox, Erskine, and Lord Mayor Combe, who prostrate themselves before Napoleon. The details of this caricature are exceedingly amusing. From Combe's pocket sticks out an *Essay on Porter*. The three visitors, whose foreheads nearly touch the ground, say, "We are, with the highest consideration, your super-royal consulship's most devoted, most obsequious, and most honoured servants." Bonaparte replies, "Oh, from the world! O'Connor's friends! Fox, ah!! How old are you? A brewer Lord Mayor! Ha, great pomp. Mr. Brief, ha, a great lawyer can talk well! There, you may go!" In Erskine's coat is his brief for O'Connor, the Irish rebel.

In "Taking Leave" (Holland, November 12) we are shown Napoleon, wearing a crown composed of swords and bayonets, bidding a tender farewell to Fox. Humphrey, for once, must have missed the market, for Gillray's "Introduction of Citizen Volpone and his suite at Paris. *Vide* the *Moniteur* and Cobbett's Letters," did not appear till three days later. In this plate the newly-married wife of Fox (hitherto known as "Mrs. Armytage") is treated with singular severity. On December 4, Humphrey published another plate by Gillray, "The Nursery, with Britannia reposing in peace," in which the illusions of the Addington administration are mercilessly satirised. The last caricature of 1802 is G. M. Woodward's "A

Peep at the Lion" (Holland, December 20). Napoleon, patting the noble beast reposing with one eye open, is made to say, "Poor fellow, what a beautiful animal. How sound he sleeps." There was disillusionment in store, both for England and France, during the coming year.

Mistress Humphrey's New Year's gift to her customers on January 1, 1803, was the celebrated print, "First Kiss these ten Years, or The Meeting of Britannia and Citizen François." On the wall in the background are easily recognisable portraits of Napoleon and George III. This caricature is said to have vastly amused Bonaparte, who must have chuckled over the illusive dream it might help to perpetuate. Possibly he was less pleased with "German Nonchalance, or The Vexation of Little Boney. *Vide* the Diplomatique's (*sic*) late Journey through Paris." It is in this print that one first detects the presence of the famous soubriquet of Gillray's devising, which was to stick to Napoleon like a burr to the bitter end. In passing through Paris on a political mission the Austrian Minister Stahremberg had declined to stop to pay his respects to Napoleon. Hence the anger of the First Consul, who possibly scented the Third Coalition, which was, however, still more than two years' distant.

On January 2 Fores published a caricature by Isaac Cruikshank entitled "A Hint for another Statue, or A Sketch of a Modern Weather-cock," in which some suggestion of Windham's for the disbandment of the volunteers is ridiculed. The interpretation of this print has been rendered exceptionally difficult by an apparent attempt to change the figure three into four. Windham is standing on a whirligig inscribed, "Pittite," "Foxite,"

We are with the highest Consideration
Your Eager Regal Consolidays most
Devoted, most Obsequious and most
Humbl Servants.
Dr from the World. O'Connors Friends
Fox &c — how Old are You?
A Brewer; Lord Mayor &c. great Guns.
M^r Brief ha! a great Lawyer can talk well.
Here you may go.
ENGLISH PATRIOTS bowing at the SHRINE of DESPOTISM

By Isaac Cruikshank, November 8, 1802

and "Noite." A volunteer and a British labourer carrying one of the long pikes then used in default of better arms upbraid him with his change of front. Windham replies that the volunteers, being all democrats, cannot be trusted. Bonaparte, from the other side of the Channel, shouts, "That's right, my good fellow, just curse the volunteers, and I'll soon come over, and then I'll call you a Boneite." The disbelief in the durability of the peace was evidently gaining ground. Equally significant was Raymond's caricature, "Leap Frog" (Roberts), published about this time. Bonaparte is springing lightly over the backs of the European nations, but John Bull says sternly, "I'll be d——d if you do, Master Corsican." It was this spirit which prompted England to delay the surrender of Malta, and the question of Malta evidently soon became one of crucial importance. Gillray's "Evacuation of Malta" (Humphrey, February 9, 1803) cannot be more particularly described, reflecting, as it does, the coarseness of an age in which it could be tolerated. On the following day (February 10) Fores published "The Rival Gardeners," in which he cleverly represents George III. and Bonaparte standing in gardens on either side of the Channel. The King says: "No, no, brother Gardener, though only a ditch parts our grounds, yet this is the spot for true gardening. Here Corona Britannica and Heart of Oak will flourish to the end of the world." Bonaparte replies: "Why, I don't know what is the reason my Poppies flourish charmingly, but this Corona Imperialis is rather a delicate kind of plant and requires great judgment in rearing." Bonaparte fondles in his hand the imperial crown growing on the top of a sickly stalk. In a group of other shrubs is a

direction-post, with the words *Military Poppies*. At his side is a wheelbarrow, lettered *Manure from Italy and Switzerland;* it is filled with coins, in the midst of which he has stuck his sword.

English public opinion was evidently now rapidly awakening to the gravity of the situation. Gillray doubtless materially assisted the trend it was taking by his clever creation, "Physical Aid, or Britannia recovering from a Trance";[1] also "The Patriotic Courage of Sherry Andrew"; and "A Peep through the Fog" (Humphrey, March 11, 1803). On March 8, a royal message, pointing to the warlike preparations then going on in France and Holland, roused the nation to a sense of the imminence of war, attended with new fears of an invasion. Sheridan at this juncture distinguished himself by his warlike language in the debates, and he appears in the first-named print as the foremost and blustering friend of Britannia, who is thunderstruck at the alarming intelligence. Addington (the "Doctor") is administering relief. Fox, the guest at Napoleon's gala dinner of the previous 2nd September, still remains incredulous.

Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador, had presented his credentials at the Tuileries on December 5, 1802. A conference between Napoleon and Whitworth took place on February 18, 1803, the very day on which the Swiss Act of Mediation was delivered to Citizen d'Affry, the newly appointed *landamman*. On Sunday, March 13, occurred his stormy interview with the ambassador in the presence of Josephine. The forecast implied in the caricature of two days previously was fully justified. Pitt is again becoming the most pro-

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 272.

By Isaac Cruikshank, January 2, 1803

1—160

minent figure in our political arena. On March 27, Fores published "The Political Cocks," attributed to Ansell. Napoleon says, "Aye, my dear Bull, if I could but take a flight over this brook I would soon stop your crowing. I would knock you off that perch, I swear by Mohamed, the Pope, and the Idols I have ever worshipped." Pitt, who is perched on a crown, replies crowing, "That you can never do." This is followed by the appearance of a veritable avalanche of satirical plates, amongst which may be mentioned West's "John Bull teased by an Earwig" (Holland, April 6),[1] Woodward's "An Attempt to Swallow the World" (Holland, April 6),[2] Woodward's "John Bull in a Dream, or The Effects of Uncertainty" (Holland, April 12), Isaac Cruikshank's "Easier to say than do" (Holland, April 14), the anonymous "Attempt to undermine John Bull" (Roberts, April 16), and Roberts's "A Stoppage to a Stride over the Globe" (Roberts, April 16).[3] This plate evidently excited considerable attention and enjoyed a large share of popularity. It was republished by Blacklock, 92 Royal Exchange, May 1806, and finally by T. Tegg in January 1807. Napoleon sits, sword in hand, astride on the globe. One foot rests on Switzerland and the other on Italy. Finding his progress checked, he cries: "Ah, who is it dares interrupt me in my progress?" John Bull, whose head and shoulders project from the part of the globe marked "Old England," cries, lifting up his sword, "Why, 'tis I, little Johnny Bull, protecting a little spot I clap my hands on, and d—nee if you go any further."

[1] Republished in 1813 with the words Malta and Ceylon erased.
[2] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 284.
[3] *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 326.

By C. Ansell, 2 February 10, 1803

cature of "Doctor Sangrado curing John Bull of repletion, with the kind offices of young Clysterpipe and little Boney. A hint from Gil Blas" (Humphrey, May 2). This plate is said to have given mortal offence to the Premier, who had appointed his son, still a youth, to one of those lucrative sinecures known as a clerkship of the Pells. Sheridan and Fox are represented as holding out basins to catch the blood so wantonly taken from the arm of John Bull. The following day, May 3, Fores published Ansell's "Lunar Speculations," a clever print now reproduced. In it Bonaparte, looking heavenwards through a telescope, is supposed to say: "I wonder the Idea never struck me before, the place would easily be taken and has undoubtedly great capabilities; besides, they would make me Emperor, and then the sound of the title, Emperor of the Full Moon! Oh! delightful, I will send for Garner[1] and his balloons and set about the scheme immediately." John Bull replies: "What! going to revolutionise the Moon, Boney; that's a good one. However, to be sure, you talk of paying a visit to my little island, and one would certainly be as easily accomplished as the other."

Passing over several caricatures of minor importance like "Britannia reprimanding a naughty Boy" (Holland, May 3), "Waste Paper," by Isaac Cruikshank (Williamson, May 15), "The Ultimatum, or The Ambassador taking proper Steps," by the same artist (J. Knight, May 14), "Bonaparte and the Quaker" (Roberts), Woodward's "A Great Man Intoxicated with Success" (Roberts), and "Little Ships, or John Bull very inquisitive" (Roberts), we come to the anonymous plate, now

[1] Garnier.

Fairy." In it
he is chained by
." John Bull holds
inscribed "Malta."
erland, Holland, and
agnifying-glass. John
great traveller, but don't
choleric, he put himself
ugar-plum(b) I hold in
for my little chain and
any kind of order."
the "delusive peace"
it a truce) was doomed.
ficial journals, including the
more and more intemperate.
St. James, notwithstanding
was freely compared with the
overs and the designs of the
levelled in Paris against
outdid in their brutality the
Gillray or the elder Cruik-
the final draft of Colonel
state of things in the East,
Bonaparte said, "Parbleu, nous
décidera pas John Bull à
time for Joseph Bonaparte
Treaty of Amiens. It holds
This thread was finally to be
On that day a Parliamentary Paper
houses setting forth the sovereign's
of hostilities. They occupy

1—15)

General History, vol. ii. ch. ix.

1—165

By C. Ansell, May 3, 1803

twenty-one paragraphs covering no less than four closely-printed folio pages. One of the causes of war is thus explained: "At the very time when His Majesty was demanding Satisfaction and Explanation on some of the points above mentioned, the *French* Minister at *Hamburgh* endeavoured to obtain the insertion in a Hamburgh Paper of a most gross and opprobrious Libel against His Majesty, and when Difficulties were made respecting the Insertion of it, he availed himself of his *official Character of Minister of the French Republick* to require the Publication of it by order of his Government in the Gazette of the Senate of that Town. With this Requisition so made, the Senate of *Hamburgh* was induced to comply, and thus has the Independence of that Town been violated, and a free state made the Instrument, by the Menace of the *French* Government, of propagating through *Europe*, upon their Authority, the most offensive and unfounded Calumnies against His Majesty and His Government. His Majesty might add to this List of Indignites, the Requisition which the French Government have repeatedly urged that the Laws and Constitution of His Country should be changed relative to the Liberty of the Press."[1]

It is now that the national terror of invasion reached its most acute stage. During its continuance the caricaturists, like the song-writers and the distributors of patriotic broadsides, were to play a part of considerable importance. The history of the measures adopted by the British Government for the defence of the country have already been dealt with in two separate works.[2]

[1] *Declaration of War.* London, George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1803.

[2] *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, 2 vols., by H. F. B. Wheeler and A. M. Broadley. *Dumouriez and the Defence of England against Napoleon*, by Dr. J. Holland Rose and A. M. Broadley, 1909.

In the great emergency George III., despite the drawbacks of advancing years and failing health, gave constant proof both of personal courage and unselfish patriotism. It was the dogged determination displayed by England's king during the crisis of 1803–5 which contributed more than anything else to the ultimate downfall and discomfiture of the great general whose challenge he fearlessly accepted.

A PEEP at the CORSICAN FAIRY.

Anonymous Caricature of the Spring of 1803

CHAPTER IX

ENGLISH CARICATURES RELATING TO NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AS CONSUL (*AD VITAM*) FROM THE RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES WITH ENGLAND (MAY 18, 1803) UNTIL HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL DIGNITY (MAY 18, 1804)

"When, looking on the present face of things,
I see one man, of men the meanest too!
Raised up to sway the world, to do, undo,
With mighty nations for his underlings,
The great events with which old story rings."
—WORDSWORTH, October 1803.

"Consul! Dictator! Pontifex! or King!
Whate'er the style that most delights we sing;
Khan! Sophi! Sultan! Autocrat! or Czar!
A second Cyrus! More than Julian Star!
Pride of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul."
—*Britannicus to Buonaparte*,
by HENRY TRESHAM, R.A., 1803.

PART I

MAY 18 TO AUGUST 17, 1803

EXACTLY twelve months divide the declaration of war by George III. and the assumption by Napoleon of the imperial dignity in virtue of the *senatus consultum* which conferred a right of succession upon his lawful heirs. Never perhaps was the popular feeling in England stronger than between May 18, 1803, and May 18, 1804. It was intensified by the decree which made prisoners for an indefinite period

The original drawing of Tresham is in the writer's possession.[1] After Trafalgar the artist removed the Syrian scene and substituted for it a charming miniature portrait of Nelson. Father Neptune had proved as cruel to Bonaparte as Father Nile.

On the very day the "Declaration" of George III. appeared, Humphrey published Gillray's "Armed Heroes,"[2] in which the artist effectively shows the strong feeling which then existed in England, both as regards the duplicity of the First Consul and the deplorable weakness of Addington and Lord Hawkesbury. In this caricature the Premier is once again made thoroughly ridiculous. His assumed courage is cleverly contrasted with his inward misgivings, while the craven face belies the swaggering attitude. The humble position of Lord Hawkesbury scarcely tallies with the threats he had once uttered of a victorious march to Paris. The same day Holland provided for his customers an anonymous print, now reproduced, called "The Bone of Contention,"[3] which put the political situation in a nutshell. A British sailor plants his foot firmly on a rock lettered "Malta," a cudgel in one hand. He is approached by Bonaparte, who menaces him with a drawn sword, saying, "By the Bridge of Lodi, by the plains of Marengo, I command you to surrender that bone ! ! ! !" And Jack Tar replies, "You be d——d !"

A week later another of Gillray's finest productions made its appearance (Humphrey, May 24). It bore the

[1] Both plates are reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. pp. 318, 322.

[2] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 53.

[3] *Idem*, vol. i. p. 268.

Anonymous Caricature of May 18, 1803

title of "Maniacal Ravings."[1] Bonaparte is drawn in his private study, the Consular chair is overturned, the writing-table is capsized, and a globe kicked over, on which the whole of Europe is, with the exception of Great Britain, obliterated. A heap of English publications are thrown on the floor. Cobbett's *Weekly Register*, *Windham's Speeches*, the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, and other evidences of hostility to France, have excited Napoleon to dance about in a fit of unrestrained exasperation, tearing his hair and stamping on the offending prints. Napoleon's meditations, suspended during this excess of passion, are represented by his "Plan for Invading Great Britain, with a list of the Members of the British Republic," "List of Future Conquests, Turkey, Persia, China," &c., "A Plan to set the Thames on Fire, dedicated to Milord Stanhope," and so forth. Matter for insertion in the *Hamburg Gazette*, *Moniteur*,[2] and other organs, are thrown down with the contents of the inkstand. The First Consul's ravings are portrayed by a torrent of broken denunciations on English newspapers, prosperity and liberty, mingled with shouts of "Sebastiani," "Georges," "Treaty of Amiens," "Damnation," and ending with the words: "Hated and betrayed by the French! Despised by the English, and laughed at by the whole world! Revenge! Revenge! Come fire, sword, famine! Invasion! invasion! Four hundred and eighty thousand Frenchmen. British slavery and everlasting chains." This wonderful effort of Gillray's genius depicts the scene at the Tuileries pretty much as it is gravely described by Lord Whitworth in his

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 276.
[2] See *ante*, ch. viii.

despatch of March 14, 1803.[1] In this print again we have another instance of the far-reaching influence of Gillray. Some time later it was "adapted" for the benefit of the readers of the *Paris-Berlin* magazine, this time without Gillray's signature.[2] It received the new name of "The flying Sword run mad, No. XIII." A notched sword-blade with tricolour wings rests on a document inscribed "Resist, or be Ruined," "Plan for invading Ireland. List of United Irish," "Pelletier," &c. The upper portion of the hilt is formed of the face of the First Consul. Above his head flies a gigantic cock with variegated wings. From the sword proceeds a nimbus of rays of light showing the words "English bloodhounds," "Oh! the Liberty of the British Press!" "Oh! St. Dominy!" "Oh! Egypt, Egypt, Egypt!" On May 24 also appeared anonymously, both as regards author and publisher, the caricature "A Consular Attempt at a Crown," now reproduced. Although published in London the design has every appearance of being French, and the inscription on the plate is in French. Bonaparte, sword in hand, is trying to climb up the wheel of Fortune, at the top of which stands the goddess. In one hand she holds the imperial crown, while from the other falls from a cornucopia mitres, stars, &c. In a cloud above her head stands the skeleton of Death, who suspends a dagger over the head of Bonaparte. On the border below the French inscription are printed the following lines in English :—

"Consul, beware! Nor tempt thy fate
The dang'rous paths, unsafe to tread;
Alluring though the tempting bait,
A crown will never grace thy head.

[1] Vide *Annual Register* for 1803. [2] See ch. xxii., also Appendix E, 37.

a Consular attempt at a Crown.
savent de m'atteindre tu pourra glisser,
et parmi les morts tu le pourra trouver.
Gardez vous des faux pas, le Chemin est glissant,
quoique le brillant amorce est assez seduisant.
la Balance du destin vient de peser ton sort,
et tu trouvera ensemble la couronne et la mort.
London. published as the act directs. may 24-1803.

CONSULAR ATTEMPT AT A CROWN
By Méron, May 24, 1803

Beware, rash man ! the slippery way
Which leads to crowns oft leads astray.
Thou'rt weighed, thy balance sinks to earth
And, with the crown, thou'lt find thy death ! "

Bonaparte had evidently at this time bitter enemies on either side of the Channel.

The grossly obscene print, " A Consul and a Consultation " (Ackermann, May 26), depicts a domestic catastrophe supposed to be occasioned by Lord Whitworth's abrupt departure. The next day (May 27) T. Williamson of 20 Strand issued Rainsford's " Fraternal Embrace," which very amusingly reflects the relations existing between Napoleon and the Dutch. While Napoleon squeezes Mynheer, a French official extracts showers of gold from his pocket, saying, " Begar, Mynheer, have plenty of argent ! Squeeze a little harder, mon general. He put me in mind of de Banks of Venice and Genoa." The First Consul says, " Ah, my dear brother, now is the time ! Let us go and plunder the Islands and make the poor inhabitants happy and free ! " John Bull, looking on in glee, says, " The devil help you ! It is a pretty sort of relation you have got ! By his manner I should take him to be a brother of the Inquisition ! "

The production of caricatures soon became a matter of almost daily occurrence. With a good many people they evidently took the place of newspapers, still heavily handicapped by a stamp duty. The writer has traced no less than 158 different prints to the period (May 18, 1803, to May 18, 1804) which this chapter treats of, and there are nearly 100 others in the Latta collection at Philadelphia. They have all been carefully enumerated in Appendix A. On May 29, T. Williamson published " The

New Consular Waltz," the leading idea of which was to be utilised and improved upon just ten years later in " Friends and Foes, Up he Goes." [1] Napoleon is depicted as undergoing the unpleasant and undignified ordeal of being tossed in a blanket. He cries piteously, " Oh, that I were safe in Egypt." In the background Spain and Holland are seen placidly smoking with complete indifference to his sufferings, while on the blanket are the words " Pauvre Diable ! ! ! is that the Hero who is to conquer England ? " The eight ladies who are tossing him indulge in uncomplimentary epithets. One of them says, " Well, Bunny, have you built any more castles since you've been up in the Air, or will you have some more conscripts to help you ? "

The attitude of England is delightfully typified by the action of the sailor in " The Oak and the Mushroom," engraved and published by Roberts, and now reproduced as an illustration in colours. Napoleon is depicted as a giant mushroom, the face being an excellent portrait of the bellicose First Consul. A typical British sailor, his left hand round the trunk of an oak tree and a stout cudgel in the right, exclaims, " You may look as cross as you please, Mr. Mushroom, but here stands the British oak, and, by St. George and the Dragon, not a leaf of it shall fall to the ground."

The print, " John Bull fighting the French single-handed," by B. F. L. B., shows that it must have been a matter of common knowledge at this time that Talleyrand had sent spies to take soundings in the English harbours. John Bull tramples a spy beneath one foot, and with the other contrives to administer a sound kick

[1] See ch. xv.

You may look as crose as
you Please master Mushroom
but here Stands the British
Oak - and by S' George and
the Dragon not a Leaf of it shall
Fall to the Ground

THE OAK and the MUSHROOM.

By G. M. Woodward, June 1, 1803

to Andréossy, a grotesque figure with ear-rings, who is propelled thereby from Dover to Calais. On June 1 W. Holland published "The Three Plagues of Europe," from Roberts's etching. In it Napoleon, Addington, and the Devil are depicted as standing on three rocks. They are labelled respectively "General Fight-all," the "Hon. Mr. Tax-all," and the "Rev. Mr. Take-all." The country was rapidly getting tired of the "Doctor and his Policy." This plate is reproduced as one of the illustrations of this volume.

A more than usually horrible but very puzzling caricature is that entitled "The Bone-a-part shows the Secret," which is given in coloured facsimile. It was published by W. Hudson, 61 Newgate Street, and came to light in Paris. The reader will have no difficulty in grasping every detail. The word "choak-pear" denotes anything that stops the mouth, and also signifies an unanswerable argument. The stubborn resistance of England, the retention of Malta, and the successes of our navy, all proved a formidable "choak-pear" to Bonaparte and his dreams of conquest and aggrandisement.

Shortly after the rupture Alexander I. made some abortive attempts at mediation between France and England. On this phase of the political question we have on the King's birthday an interesting caricature by Isaac Cruikshank (Williamson, June 4), "Bruin become Mediator." The Russian Bear says: "I wonder you civilised folks could not agree upon matters without reference to me whom you have ridiculed as a barbarian. But I suppose you think I must have more sense than yourselves because I came further North." Bonaparte, represented as a monkey, with a huge cocked hat and

sword, says: "I promise on the faith of a Frenchman, which is as good as any Birmingham sixpence, to let you graze quietly in the Malta paddock and to love you with all my heart as much as I do the liberty of the French nation." John Bull, with the head of an ox, replies: "Well, Nappy, if you will leave off your pranks and not think of skipping over to Egypt, and if you will promise not to hop the twig in Hanover, I will be reconciled."

A few days later appeared Gillray's large print, "French Invasion, or Bonaparte landing in Great Britain" (Humphrey, June 10), in which the English are represented as victorious, while "Little Boney" and his troops beat a retreat towards the shore over a gruesome tangle of corpses and decollated heads. Then follow in rapid succession Ansell's "Bone of Contention, or The English Bull-dog and the Corsican Monkey" (Fores, June 14),[1] the same artist's "Corsican Beggars riding to the Devil" (J. Knight, Lambeth, June 15), Isaac Cruikshank's "Olympic Games, or John Bull introducing his new Ambassador" (Fores, June 16), and "Playing at Bubbles," etched by J. Smith (Roberts, June 25).[2] Lieut.-Col. Bradyll appears to have suggested to Gillray the caricature "The King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver. *Vide* Swift's Gulliver's Voyage to Brobdingnag," published by Humphrey on June 26. Few caricatures of Napoleon are better known than this one, but, as has already been shown, it did not give rise to the famous nickname of "Little Boney." In this clever print George III., whose face is portrayed with wonderful fidelity, holds

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 268.

[2] A facsimile of this interesting plate in colours forms the frontispiece of vol. i. of *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*.

The BONE-a-part shews the SECRET.
Hellish
Translation of the CHOAK-PEAR "I am about to bid you good by:- Alas! Alas! & Simon nebody now, that dares undertake it."

the manikin Bonaparte in the palm of his left hand, and examining him through a monocle says: "My little friend Grildrig, you have made a most admirable panegyric upon yourself and country; but from what I can gather from your own relations and the answers I have with much pains wringed (*sic*) and extorted from you, I cannot but conclude you to be one of the most pernicious little odious reptiles that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth."

Other less successful caricatures of this midsummer of profound national anxiety are "Green Spectacles, or Consular Goggles" (Roberts, June), "The Final Pacification of Europe" (Holland, June), and "John Bull and Buonaparte on opposite Sides" (the vignette heading of an "invasion" broadside). In the possession of the writer is the original drawing by Isaac Cruikshank for a caricature to be called "The Old Fable of the Frog and the Ox." The ox, with the face of George III. standing on one side of the Channel, says to Bonaparte, crouching as a frog on the other: "You may swell, blow, and puff your cheeks out as much as you please, yet you'll never make yourself as great as a bull or half so honest." The First Consul replies: "I'll try what I can do! I may but burst in the end." On one of the numerous broadsides published at this juncture is a satirical woodcut entitled "Another Confirmation of the tender Mercies of Bonaparte in Egypt, selected by his friend John Bull." The caricature "The Devil won't take him—what a Pity!" (Williamson, Strand), is anonymous, but certainly shows Bonaparte little mercy. Approaching a grill, behind which a fire is burning fiercely, Napoleon is made to say: "I am come to make you all

free and happy." One devil holds out a ferocious serpent to him through the bars, while another, aiming a thrust at him with a pitchfork, cries, "Get you gone; you have cheated the Dutch and Italians, therefore Master says you may take him in to." Three other devils on the wall hurl stones at him and forbid his approach. Ackermann is responsible for the excellent caricature by an unknown artist entitled, "Bonaparte's Headquarters in London,"[1] in which we see the unlucky First Consul in a barrel, his hat and sword suspended to the spout of a pump, from which a stream of water is being projected over him by a group of citizens, incited to further exertions by a sailor who shouts, "Go it, my hearties, pump away for the honour of old England."

There is no sign of any lessening of the activity of the caricaturist in July, on the first day of which month T. West's "An Amusement after Dinner: The Corsican Fairy displaying his Prowess," was published by Holland. Napoleon figures in this print as a dwarf exhibited to an interested crowd on a dinner-table. The next satirical print to make its appearance was Ansell's "Boney in Possession of the Mill Stone" (Fores, July 5), which is reproduced as an illustration. To the left is seen Bonaparte with a gigantic mill-stone hung round his neck, marked "Hanover." He exclaims: "It is cursed heavy. I wish it had been Malta." John Bull, in a smock-frock, replies: "That thee hast got it, hast thee? The Devil do thee good with it. Old Measter Chatham used to say, 'It was a Mill-stone about my neck,' so perhaps I may feel more lightsome without it." In this carica-

[1] Reproduced as a facsimile in colour in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 274.

BONEY in POSSESSION of the MILLSTONE

By C. Ansell, July 23. 1803

ture the difficulties with Germany occasioned by Napoleon's aggression in Hanover, one of the first-fruits of the renewal of hostilities between the two countries, are cleverly foreshadowed. Bonaparte rejoined with a shoal of rather coarse caricatures ridiculing the celerity with which the Duke of Cambridge retired from the Electorate, which so soon proved a diplomatic white elephant. In Rowlandson's "Flags of Truth and Lies" (Ackermann, July 10),[1] to the left stands John Bull holding out the British flag. He says: "Let your grand master read that, Mounseer." On the flag are the words: "John Bull does not rightly understand the Chief Consul's lingo, but supposes he means something about the Invasion; therefore the said Bull deems it necessary to observe that if his Consular Highness dares attempt to invade any ladies or gentlemen on his coast, he'll be damned if he don't sink him." A Frenchman to the right holds out the tricolour exclaiming: "Mon grande Maître bids you read dat, Monsieur." On the flag is inscribed: "Citizen First Consul Buonaparte presents compliments and thanks to the ladies and gentlemen of Great Britain who have honoured him with their visits at Paris, and intends himself the pleasure of returning it in person as soon as his arrangements for that purpose are completed."

The news of the First Consul's presence on the French and Dutch littoral, which he was now converting into what Marmont happily called "a coast of bronze," served as a powerful stimulant to the caricaturists. On July 14, a few days before Bonaparte sat in the chair of Charles V. at Brussels, a publisher who chose anonymity produced an elaborate print by "Lieutenant B." entitled "A

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 278.

Little Man's Night's Comforts, or Boney's Visitor." In this we have another version of "Political Dreamings."[1] Bonaparte is depicted lying half-naked on a bed from which he starts in alarm on beholding a vision, in which the victims of the 18th Vendémiaire and Jaffa, together with an infernal machine, a cup of poison, and a dagger appear to him. He shouts, "Aux Armes! Aux Armes!" Along with a brace of pistols on a table beside him are plans for the invasion of England and the annihilation of English commerce, capital, and credit. On the floor lie papers inscribed, *Sir Robert Wilson's History of the British Expedition to Egypt, Decree of Arrest of all the English in France,* and *Article from the Moniteur to entice the English to stay in France, promising them protection,* together with a bundle of *Little Boney* caricatures and the newspapers of Peltier and Cobbett.

Isaac Cruikshank etched the caricature heading for the large patriotic broadside (Allen, 15 Paternoster Row, July 18) which was called "A Dialogue between Mrs. Bull and Madame Bonaparte," the text as well as the illustration being the work of G. M. Woodward. The following is a fair example of the exchange of civilities the ladies are made to indulge in :—

Madame Bonaparte. "My husband, Ma'am, is known to the whole world as the *greatest, wisest, tallest, calmest, peaceable, forbearing, charitable, mildest* man in the Universe! Never puts himself in a passion, no *boaster* or *swaggerer! gentle* as the *evening breeze* and mild as the *zephyrs!* You will hear his name repeated with *rapture* on the *plains of Marengo* and in the *Town of Lodi!* From the Basis of the *Pyramids* to the *gardens*

[1] See *ante.*

O thus is joyful news, We'll stick up our houses with holly,
We'll broach the tub of humming bub
For those that come with a rub a dub dub
shall all be jolly!!

John Bull bringing Bonaparte to London!!

By G. M. Woodward, August 8, 1803

of St. Cloud! His justness and *humanity* are the general themes of the enlightened world. My husband is the renowned, wonderful NAPOLEONE BONAPARTE!!!"

Mrs. Bull. "Mercy on me! who did you say? The little Corsican *Boney!* He the greatest man in the world! It's very well my spouse John is gone to smoke a pipe with his brother Pat, or I'm sure he would kick me downstairs for keeping such company. And so, Ma'am, a fine piece of humbug flummery you've been hatching together. The deuce of my tea you will get from me; and if I give you any advice it will be to take yourself off before John comes home!"

Madame Bonaparte. "What an unpolished woman!"

James Gillray's "Death of the Corsican—The Last of the Royal Hunt,"[1] was published by Humphrey two days later. George III. as the Huntsman holds Bonaparte with a fox's body in his grasp, crying: "*Tally-ho! tally-ho!*" Hounds, having round their collars the names of *St. Vincent*, *Nelson*, *Sidney Smith*, and *Cornwallis*, clamour for the carcase. Other hunting-men in the distance respond to the cry of "*Tally-ho!*"

In the late summer of Waterloo, when the "British Juvenal" lay at rest in St. James's churchyard, this print was reproduced in Dublin, transformed into the "Scene at the last of the Wellington Hunt."[2] The predominant idea of Isaac Cruikshank's "A Monstrous Stride" (Lawrie and Whittle, July 25) was not a new one, and the notion of the gory head of the First Consul exhibited triumphantly on a pike did duty in other prints after Gillray had used it effectively in his "Buonaparte forty-eight hours after landing! *Vide* John Bull's

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 294.

[2] *Vide* also "Coming in at the death of the Corsican Fox," ch. xvii. p. 387.

Home-Stroke, Armed *en masse*"[1] (Humphrey, July 26). Gillray's idea was promptly borrowed by Isaac Cruikshank for "How to Stop an Invader" (Williamson, July 28). No special mention is necessary in the cases of the same industrious artist's "Preparing to Invade," produced on the same day by the same publisher, or West's "British Chymist Analizing a Corsican Earthworm" (Holland). A large measure of popularity evidently fell to the lot of the Cockspur Street publishers. "The Bull and the Bantam,"[2] in which a British tar with a bull's head dances merrily with Bonaparte impaled on one of his horns, shouting: "Rule, Britannia! Britannia rules the waves!" while Bonaparte, in the guise of a bantam with a human head, says, "Oh, dear Mr. Bull, take me off your horn and I'll never come again, believe me." Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery in caricatures as in other things, and Holland's plate was at once pirated by M'Cleary of Dublin.

On August 1 (the First Consul being on that day busily engaged inspecting the fortifications at Antwerp, which place he hoped to turn into a "pistol pointed perpetually at London"), Fores published Ansell's "None but the brave deserve the Fair. The Yeomanry Cavalry's first Essay,"[3] a further adaptation of the pike and pitchfork idea. A stalwart Yeomanry officer is seen in the embraces of two women, while others look on admiringly. In his right hand is a bloody sabre; in his left a pike, to which are attached nine decollated and bleeding heads, the topmost of which is that of Bonaparte. The warrior

[1] *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 82.
[2] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 154.
[3] *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 42.

Avast there my little fellow for D...n my Timbers if I don't take you Aback before you reach the end of your Intended Travel.
So pull away! Pull away! I say for the light bit of Land in the Ocean—
Ay what! what! Does the Little Gulliver want my Crew—let him Come and he will soon find how 'tis Protected— Hearts of Oak are our Ships Jolly Tars are our men
If those fellows did not keep such a light hand over me I would soon lay hold of that Ornament would fit my head
Charles Del
Etch'd by Charles

GULLIVER and his GUIDE. or a CHECK steing to the CORSICAN.

By Charles, August, 1803

cries exultingly: "There, you rogues, there! There's the Bony part of them. . . . I've destroyed half the army with this same Toledo." The women applaud him vociferously, one of them saying: "Ha! ha! That great man, little Boney. How glum he looks!" A civilian slinks away to the extreme right, regretting that he is not a soldier.

Another version of the same incident is Ansell's "After the Invasion. The Levée *en masse*, or Britain Striking Home" (Fores, August 6). A volunteer in uniform holds up the bleeding head of Bonaparte on a pitchfork, exclaiming: "Here he is, my lord, twenty-four hours after landing." The second volunteer to the right cries: "Dang my buttons, if that bean't the head of that Rogue Boney. I told our Squire this morning. 'What d'ye think,' says I, 'the lads of our village shall cut up a Regiment of them French Mounsheers, and as soon as the lasses had given us a kiss for good luck, I could have sworn we should do it, and so we have.'" A countryman with a military bandolier over his smock-frock adds: "Why harkee, d'ye know, I never liked soldiering afore, but somehow or other, when I thought of our Sal, the beams, the poor pigs, the cows, and the geese, why, I could have killed the whole army myself!" Fighting is going on in the distance, with disastrous results to the French, who are thrust over the cliffs by the advancing infantry supported by cavalry. Women are engaged in rifling the pockets of the slain. One says, "Why, this is poor finding. I've emptied the pockets of a score and found only one head of onions and a parcel of pill-boxes;" while her companion replies: "I've only found garlic." In the hats of the three combatants are sprigs of

oak with acorns and rosettes of blue ribbon, inscribed respectively "Hearts of Oak," "Britons never will be slaves," and "We'll fight and we'll conquer!"

Gillray's "John Bull offering Little Boney Fair Play" (Humphrey) appeared on August 2,[1] Roberts's etching of "St. George and the Dragon"—the monster with the head of the First Consul (Roberts), on August 6, and Isaac Cruikshank's "Johny (*sic*) Bull giving Boney a Pull" (towards the gallows!) on August 7. In "Resolutions in Case of an Invasion,"[2] West contrived to summarise the stern determination to resistance which at this moment characterised Englishmen of every class of the community. In this caricature the tailor is made to say, "I'll trim his skirts for him"; the barber, "I'll lather his whiskers"; the apothecary, "I'll pound him"; the cobbler, "I'll strap his jacket"; the publican, "I'll cool his courage in a pot of brown stout"; the epicure, "I'll eat him!"[3]

In the somewhat complicated caricature "A Present of Eight Swans from the Mayor of Amiens to Bonaparte, and the use his Consular Majesty intends making of them in crossing the Channel" (Lawrie and Whittle, August 8), an anonymous author satirises a royal honour paid to the First Consul by the obsequious Chief Magistrate of Amiens.[4] On the foremost swan Bonaparte and his Staff ride towards the English fleet. On the same day Holland published the caricature "John Bull bringing Bonaparte to London," now reproduced; Bonaparte is

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 158.

[2] *Idem*, in colours, vol. ii.

[3] In 1813 this caricature was reproduced and circulated in Holland with the text in German. See vol. ii. ch. xxii. and Appendix E, 106.

[4] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 294.

seated on an ass, facing the tail, which is decorated with tricolour cockade. John Bull, as a volunteer on horseback, leads the ass with his right hand, his sabre across the left shoulder. He says :—

"Oh ! this is joyful news.
We'll stick up our houses with holly ;
We'll broach the tub of humming bub
For those that come with a rub-a-dub.
Now Britons shall all be jolly."

John Badcock of Paternoster Row was the publisher of Woodthorpe's illustrated broadside "The Apotheosis of Bonaparte," a further adaptation of the application of the instrument of condign punishment to the much-hated First Consul.[1] Passing over several prints of minor importance we come to Isaac Cruikshank's "Boney at Brussels" (Fores, August 14), which made its appearance within a fortnight of the termination of Bonaparte's visit to that city. In it the First Consul is depicted seated on a throne, a mameluke with drawn sword on either side of him. In his mouth he holds a paper; in his hands a huge knife and fork. A number of obsequious courtiers bow before him with dishes on their heads inscribed: "We disolve (*sic*) with submission," "We burn with desire to lick the dust off your deified feet," "Accept the keys of heaven and hell," "The idol of our Hearts, Livers, Lights, Guts, and Garbage, Souls and all," "Your most abject slaves, Saviour of France," and so forth.

The First Consul returns to Paris, and there is no sign of any movement of the flotilla of flat-bottomed

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 64.

rafts and other vessels northwards.[1] This fact possibly explains the caricature etched by Roberts and published by Holland on August 16, "John Bull out of all Patience,"[2] in which Mr. Bull, represented as a volunteer, sword in hand and riding a ferocious lion, approaches the French coast saying: "I'll be after you, my lads. Do you think I'll stay at home waiting for you? If you mean to come, d—n it, why don't you come? Do you think I put on my regimentals for nothing?" Bonaparte and his followers take precipitately to flight, crying out: "Dat is right, my brave friends! Take to your heels, for here is dat d——d John Bull coming over on his lion."

PART II

AUGUST 17, 1803

ON August 11 the First Consul returned to Paris after an absence of ten weeks. Councils were held daily at St. Cloud, and on August 23 he paid a prolonged visit to the ship-building yard at La Rapée, where a large number of gun-boats were in process of construction. The preparations on the coast were carried on with undiminished activity, and the continued state of alarm which prevailed in London and throughout England is reflected in the constant appearance of anti-Napoleonic caricatures. On August 17 Ackermann issued Isaac

[1] Pictures of the French rafts, the peculiar construction of which excited so much attention at this time, will be found in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. pp. 68, 80, 88, 94, 184, 304, 308, and 312. Illustrations of projected "invasion balloons" will be found in vol. ii. of the same work, pp. 228 and 312.

[2] *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 46.

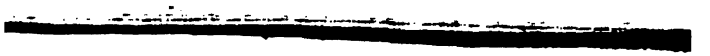
AN ENGLISH BULL DOG *and a* CORSICAN BLOOD HOUND

Published by Roberts, August, 1803

Cruikshank's "Britannia blowing up the Corsican Bottle Conjurer," a revival of the old story of a famous hoax which half a century previously had caused a serious riot at the Haymarket Theatre. The idea was again utilised in 1815.[1] In the present instance, however, Bonaparte is supposed to be blown sky-high by the force of "British Spirits, compounded of true liberty, courage, loyalty, and religion."

Far more elaborate, both as regards design and execution, is the "Gallic Idol," published on August 20, 1803, by R. Cribb of Holborn. This caricature is an aquatint in colours drawn by J. Boyne and engraved by J. Barth, and may possibly have suggested the "Corpse-head" print which attracted so much attention in 1814.[2] Death and the Devil are perched on an enormous helmet which crowns the head of Bonaparte, from whose mouth comes the word "Invasion," while the snakes entwined around the helmet hiss forth threats of Rapine, Lust, and Murder. In the centre of the heart is England, denoted by a large green spot. The upper portion of the heart is transfixed by a dagger labelled "Wilson's Narrative," and an arrow to which are attached the words "British Press." The edge of the heart is lacerated; detached pieces of it, bearing the words "Acre," "Egypt," and "Ireland," being torn off. On the plinth upon which the bust stands is the legend, "Symbolical of the effects produced by that cause which the enlightened Fox (depicted by a sketch) in the eighteenth century predicted would ultimately prove the stupendous monument of human wisdom."[3]

[1] See vol. ii. ch. xxix. pp. 242–257. [2] See vol. ii. ch. xxix. pp. 243–245.
[3] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 4.



Woodward's "A Knock-down Blow in the Ocean, or Bonaparte taking French leave,"[1] published August 24, by Ackermann, is typical of the state of public opinion in the autumn of 1803. John Bull, stripped to the waist as a pugilist, engages in a hand-to-hand encounter with Bonaparte in mid-channel. The latter has disappeared beneath the water, his huge cocked hat and boots being alone visible. Says John Bull: "There, my lad, I think that blow will settle the business. D—n me, he's gone in such a hurry, he's left his hat and spurs behind him!" English sailors applaud from the cliffs of Dover, while behind the batteries of Boulogne French officers exclaim: "Oh misericorde, pauvre Bonaparte. Oh, dat terrible John Bull!"

On the same day Humphrey produced a famous Gillray caricature, which is supposed to have angered the First Consul quite as much as "The First Kiss these Ten Years" amused him. It was entitled "The Handwriting on the Wall," and proved one of the most successful of Gillray's scriptural inspirations. The French Court, temporarily removed to London, is entertained at a banquet, which fairly rivals the feast of the Assyrian monarch. The First Consul, of course, presides; the eagle of his destinies is carved on his chair; his eye has wandered from the fine things displayed before him to the handwriting on the wall, which has turned his enjoyment into dismay. At the sight of the vision of judgment the goblet falls from his hands, and his fork remains unlifted stuck into the palace of St. James's on a plate before him. The Bank of England does duty as a centre piece, but the French

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 200.

JOHNNY BULL, ON THE LOOK-OUT.

or Bonaparte Detected Drilling his Rib at the Play of King & Queen of England

Published by Laurie and Whittle, September 12, 1803

tricolour now flies over the familiar building. In a second dish, inscribed "O! de Roast Beef of Old England!" is the head of an Anglican bishop. One of the French generals is awestricken at Napoleon's consternation, which is apparently unnoticed by another military chief whose attention is engrossed by the Tower of London served up as pastry. In the left-hand corner may be seen a bottle labelled "Maidstone," in allusion to the trial at that place of Arthur O'Connor, Quigley, and other Irish rebels, who were arrested at Dover on their way to France to concert schemes of invasions with Hoche. Josephine is depicted as a bloated and hideous hag of truly Lambertian proportions. Behind her in diaphanous attire stand the equally ill-favoured sisters of the First Consul. The room is guarded by files of hussars. In the balance suspended over Napoleon's head the legitimate crown of Louis XVIII. is turning the scale.

The success of Gillray's historic print seems to have stimulated the exertions of the minor caricaturists, and at the same time increased the dissatisfaction felt at the weakness of the Addington Cabinet, which Gillray began to expose unmercifully in a series of plates which cannot strictly be described as possessing Napoleonic interest. West again utilised the idea of "The Three Plagues of Europe,"[1] and Charles designed, executed, and published "Gulliver and his Guide, or A Check-String to the Corsican," which is now reproduced. In this plate Bonaparte is represented in the act of climbing up a flight of steps towards George III., standing behind a rail, opera-glass in hand. The guide is a sailor, who holds a rope round Bonaparte's neck. The sailor says: "Avast

[1] See Appendix A, 839.

there, my little fellow, or, d—n my timbers, if I don't tack you aback before you reach the end of your intended travels. So pull away, pull away, I say, for the tight bit of land in the ocean." Bonaparte replies: "If these fellows did not keep such a tight hand over me I would soon try how that ornament (crown) would fit my head." George III. says: "Ay, what! what! Does the little Gulliver want my c——n? Let him come and he will soon find how 'tis protected. 'Hearts of Oak are our ships. Jolly Tars are our men.'" Specially interesting from a collector's point of view is the anonymous caricature "An English Bull-dog and a Corsican Blood-hound," which is now reproduced. It first appeared in August 1803 under the auspices of Roberts. It did duty again in 1815, with T. Tegg as its publisher. The idea of "Napoleon in the grip of John Bull" evidently suited the public taste, although England had to wait twelve years for its realisation. The "Corsican Bajazet in London" caricature is possibly one of the first of a series common to several countries in which Bonaparte in a cage is depicted as exhibited to a deriding mob. Isaac Cruikshank's original design is in the possession of the writer, and a note says it was published by Holland in 1803. A sailor pointing exultingly at the captive cries, "Here he is, my hearties! Only a penny apiece! Don't be afraid to approach him. I've made him as tame as an old gib-cat in a chimney-corner." Amongst the spectators it is easy to recognise Fox, Pitt, and Sir Francis Burdett. Fox says, "I told you he was a slink of a soldier." Burdett replies, "I thought he was a fierce-looking fellow. He looks like an old rat!"[1]

The month of September began with Gillray's "John

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 106.

BONEY and TALLEY.

By Gillray, September, 1803

Bull and the Alarmist" (Humphrey). Its object was evidently to reassure the public on the subject of the measures adopted for the defence of the country. It certainly deserves a fuller description than that accorded it by Gillray's biographer. In this plate John Bull, portrayed as a gigantic yeoman, with a pot of foaming porter in one hand, a cudgel with a ferocious bull-dog head in the other, and a blue rosette in his hat, stands before the British throne. From his waistcoat-pocket protrude papers inscribed "List of Volunteer Corps," "Navy List," "God save the King," &c. On a stool beside him his pipe rests on a copy of the *London Gazette* in which the "List of Captures" is discernible. On the wall to the left is a copy of the song, "The Roast Beef of Old England." John sings cheerily :—

"Let him come and be d—d,
What cares Johnny Bull!
With my crab-stick assured
I will fracture his skull!"

Or

"I'll squeeze the vile reptile 'twixt my finger and thumb,
Make him stink like a bug if he cares to presume."

Sheridan approaches him in the guise of a ragged bill-sticker, his Phrygian cap stuffed into his pocket, and under his arm papers lettered "Loyal Bills for distribution *pro bono publico*," "Sherry Andrew's Address," "Playbills"; while on the walls behind him are a series of broadsides headed, "Invasion of Great Britain," "Corsican Cruelties," "Address to Britons," "Little Boney's delight," "Sword, Fire, and Destruction," &c. Addressing John Bull in evident alarm he says :—

"The Corsican thief has slipped from his Quarters
And coming to ravish your wives and your daughters."

Approaching events are now casting their shadows before them, and clear indications of what was to actually happen in France six or seven months hence are apparent in the anonymous caricature "Johnny Bull on the Look-out, or Boney detected drilling his Rib at the Play of King of England" (Lawrie and Whittle, September 12), now reproduced as in illustration. One can hardly help suspecting Gillray's participation in the satirical plate "An Experiment with a Burning Glass" (F. Bate, September 15).[1] In this print George III. places a burning-glass over a miniature figure of Bonaparte lying on a dish, saying, "I think, my little fellow, you have now experienced a singing *à l'Anglaise.*" The very next day Ackermann published Isaac Cruikshank's "The Corsican MacHeath."[2] Bonaparte stands on a rock, with ships and land on each side of him. Union Jacks are flying in all directions. In his perplexity he sings :—

"What way shall I turn me?
How can I deside? (*sic*)
The prospects before me
I long for to stride.

But 'tis this or that way,
Or which way I will,
John Bull at his post
Is prepared with a pill!"

The elder Cruikshank was also the author of "Chips of the Block. Specimens of True Breed, or The Gallic Mongrel at Bay" (Fores, September 26). John Bull is

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 132.
[2] *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 162.

Let us have some fun with these people here.
Or perhaps, my friend, I'm a pillaloe or love your wood but the devil a bit of you get from me ...
As sure as I'm alive, that Corsican Locust, smells my Roast Beef and plum pudding

THE CORSICAN LOCUST

By T. West, September, 1803

now represented as a huge dog with the word "Towzer" on his collar, crouching defiantly beneath an oak tree, with five pups yelping "Keep off!" The parent dog barks "Keep off, Boney!" Bonaparte is represented as a monkey surrounded by Holland, Italy, Prussia (portrayed as animals), and a jackass laden with Swiss cheese. A French dog "Snarl," on which the monkey puts his paw, says significantly: "I bark at you; I bite these!"

Gillray's fine caricature "Boney and Talley. The Corsican Carcase Butcher's Reckoning-day" (Humphrey, September 1803), which was also utilised for one of Ginger's broadsides with the same title, throws some light on the political situation during the autumn of this year. Bonaparte is seen in the midst of a butcher's shop, a cleaver in one hand and a knife in the other. On his naked arm are the initials R. T. He is struggling with Talleyrand, who holds him firmly round the waist, wearing a head-dress partly composed of a mitre and partly of a military hat. In a kennel in the corner, inscribed "Put up to fatten," is Prussia, devouring "Consular whipt Syllabub." The carcases hung on the walls are labelled "From Holland," "From Switzerland," "Jaffa Cross-breeds," "True Spanish Fleece." Hanover is depicted by a severed hand, and the Germanic body by a headless trunk. In a coop to the left are some half-starved animals described as "From Rome, not worth killing." Through the open doorway to the left, into which peeps the Russian bear, is seen across the Channel the British bull grazing on the cliffs of England, beneath which a fleet rides at anchor. Under the caricature are no less than twenty-nine verses to be sung

to the tune of (new style) "*No* Quarter Day." The following are specimens :—

"Says Boney the Butcher to Tally, his man,
One settling-day as they reckon'd,
'Times are hard—'twere a sin
Not to keep our hand in.'
Tally guessed at his thoughts in a second.
. . . . . .
Thus prepared, he clasped firm the dread steel in his hand,
And wielded his cleaver on high, sir ;
'Oh, thou Bull, thou *grand bête!*
Oh, thou barb of my fate !
This day thou most surely shalt die, sir ! '"

Talleyrand seizes him firmly round the waist and pinions him, saying :—

"'Oh brave, great and noble, magnanimous man ! ! !
To save thee thy servant is bound, sir.
The sea it is deep
And the shores they are steep :
Most certainly you will be drowned, sir !

"'Think how precious your life is to France and to me.
Obey then your fate and don't mock it ;
Think what we should do,
Mighty sir, without you,
With our liberties all in your pocket.'"

The last verse runs :—

"Then a health to the butcher !—And a life long enough
That he once of the Bull may a view get.
For whenever we meet,
If he *skulk'd* from the FLEET,
We will find him HEAD-QUARTERS in NEWGATE."

At this time Holland published West's "The Corsican Locust," which for some reason was re-issued on May 1, 1814. John Bull and his neighbours Paddy and Sandy

Ah adieu adieu I shall soon come over to you
I'll Fight true game & Crow my Feame
and make you all look Blue
You impertinent Cock Sir or you to Sir
on this side the Brook you never shall come
and if you are not Quick and gone into your Pen
I'll teach you the nature of English Cocks Cocks

A COCK and BULL STORY

By G. M. Woodward, 1803

are picnicking, when Napoleon as a locust suddenly appears upon the scene saying: "Bless me, how comfortable these people live." John Bull, looking at him sternly, says: "Be sure as I'm alive, that Corsican locust smells my roast beef and plum-pudding."

"The Corsican Locust" is reproduced as an illustration. "Master Boney presenting his little Gun-Boats to the National Institute" is another of Holland's publications during September 1803. Roberts about the same time was responsible for the caricature "Boney at a Stand, or The Corsican Tyrant Staggered at the Prospect of Great Britain in Arms."[1] Standing on the coast of France, Bonaparte looks anxiously through a spy-glass at the opposite shore, where he sees a vast army drawn up for the defence of the country. The Devil, peeping out from a hole in the ground behind him, urges him to advance with his trident. Roberts also published at this juncture Woodward's "A Cock and Bull Story" (now reproduced). On one side of the Channel lies a bull with the face of George III. and a crow perched on his back. On the other figures Napoleon as a cock, the likeness being remarkably good. George III. says: "You impertinent cock, I'll have you to know that on this side of the brook you never shall crow, and if you are not quick and give up your jaw, I'll teach you the nature of English club-law!" Chanticler Napoleon responds: "*Cock-a-doodle-doo!* I shall soon come over to you. I'll fight true game and crow my fame and make you all look blue."

Another of Roberts's notable invasion caricatures appearing at this time is Woodward's "Consular Games,"

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 72.

of which Roberts was the etcher as well as the publisher. It really includes two separate prints on a single plate. In the "Game of Brag," to the left Bonaparte is depicted in the act of reviewing his troops, brandishing his sword, and wearing a huge cocked hat. He exclaims: "Brave and invincible Legions, who were never beaten but once and that in a case of necessity, observe that little Island; its riches are unbounded; therefore step with me over the water and every man shall have his share!" In the right-hand one, entitled "The Game of Hazard," Bonaparte is throwing up his hands and drowning in the sea. A British fort is firing at him and a ship is blown up in the distance. He exclaims: "Oh, my poor invincibles, where are they? O that I had stayed at home snug in the chimney corner."

In the choice collection of Mr. Francis Brothers is a capital caricature of this period by J. Nixon (J. Asperne) entitled "A Return from an Invasion, or Napoleon at a Nonplus." Bonaparte skulks into Calais in rags and tatters after experiencing a defeat. He is surrounded by a mocking crowd of fish-women and soldiers. The signpost bearing the words "A l'Angleterre" is falling down, and so is the sign of "Le Premier Consul" over the tavern door. The following dialogue is placed below the print:—

First Fish-woman. "Oh, the miserable rogue! Off with him!"

Second Fish-woman. "What have you been at, my little Boney?"

Buonaparte. "No great things. All's gone! Men and boats. All's lost!"

Governor of Calais. "Why, my dashing Boney, you cut

Woodward, Del. CONSULAR GAMES. *Etched by Roberts.*

THE GAME OF BRAG. THE GAME OF HAZARD.

but a sneaking figure. We are both of us in the same mess."

French Soldier. "All gone! O le Diable! Where's the roast beef, the plumb (*sic*) pudding and the pretty girls? These damned English fellows won't let us come near them."

English Sailor. "Take one kick at parting and thank your own insignificance the English suffered you to return to France alive."

To Woodward and Roberts we owe the caricature "John Bull Arming."[1] In this plate we are introduced to the interior of a yeoman farmer's kitchen. The sturdy volunteer, John Bull, who has grown a pair of ferocious moustaches, is being equipped for the fray by his wife and child. The former says: "Father, I've brought you two guns, for they say that Master Bonny is a terrible fellow." John Bull replies: "That's right, my lad, d'ye hear, bring me three brace of Horse-pistols. I'll Bonny him, I'll warrant you." Mrs. Bull says: "I knew, my dear, it would not be long before you wanted your regimentals. Depend upon it, they are well air'd. Bless your jolly face, how these whiskers become you."

In Woodward's "John Bull peeping into Brest" (Roberts 1803),[2] we catch a glimpse of the First Consul peeping over the stern of one of his ships, as John Bull, disguised as an enormous sailor, approaches in an open boat. He says: "Mercy on us, what a monster! he will swallow up my ships at a mouthful. I hope he don't see me." John Bull replies, "What a pretty light breakfast."

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 108.
[2] *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 92.

Another popular Roberts caricature of the autumn of 1803 was "Little Boney in the Whale's Belly," now reproduced. On a collar round the neck of the marine monster are the words, "John Bull, Emperor of the Sea." A British sailor riding triumphantly on the whale's back cries: "D—n me, how he gorged him." From within, the captive, in the traditional huge cocked hat, exclaims pathetically: "Oh! that I may prove a second Jonah that he may cast me up again!" Yet another of the Roberts "invasion" caricatures is "My Ass in a Band-Box."[1] Bonaparte, sword in hand, in mid-channel, is seated on a jackass, on the hind-quarters of which is the word "France." He is guiding his steed, which floats in a cardboard box labelled "Iivasion" (*sic*), towards the cliffs of Dover. He exclaims: "Me will make that John Bull tremble now I have found out the grand Conveyance." The steed wears a prodigious pair of blinkers.

It was about this time that a caricature appeared anonymously, both as regards author and publisher, entitled "Pidcock's Grand Menagerie, with an exact representation of Bonaparte, the little Corsican Monkey, as he may probably appear at the above receptacle of Foreign Curiosities on or before Christmas 1803." Pidcock was the proprietor of a wild-beast show in the Strand, and the print was supposed to be the heading of a bill issued by his successor Mr. Polito. In 1814 the same print again did duty under the designation of "Cruce Dignus." In Roberts's caricature "An Attempt to destroy the British Fleet" (1803) the burning-glass idea

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 226.

561—1

By J. Nixon, 1803

already referred to was once more utilised, only on this occasion it is put in the hands of "Little Boney," who projects rays of the sun over Dover cliffs saying: "Fire and gunpowder! They told me a good burning-glass would do the business in an instant, but it has no more effect than if I threw a snowball at them."

During the month of October 1803 the attention of the First Consul was mainly devoted to the preparations for the contemplated invasion. On the 6th he inspected the shipyard of the Invalides and made an excursion on the Seine in one of the new gun-boats. He paid a second visit to it on the 24th, and on the 30th he went to La Rapée for the same purpose. On the 3rd November he went to Boulogne, where he remained for a whole fortnight, occupying the "Baraque de l'Empereur" on the summit of the Ordre cliff. Excitement in England was now at fever height. William Wordsworth, anticipating a victory, wrote:—

"Shout, for a mighty victory is won!
On British ground the invaders are laid low:
The breath of Heaven has drifted them like snow,
And left them lying in the silent sun
Never to rise again! the work is done."

Addressing the men of Kent, the poet, who had celebrated in glowing terms the fall of the Bastille, stimulated their patriotism with the words:—

"Vanguard of liberty, ye men of Kent,
Ye children of a soil that doth advance
Her haughty brow against the coast of France,
Now is the time to prove your hardiment!

To France be words of invitation sent !
They from their fields can see the countenance
Of your fierce war, may ken the glittering lance
And hear you shouting forth your bold intent."

On October 1 Fores published Ansell's "Grand Triumphal Entry of the Chief Consul into London."[1] Two volunteers are conducting Bonaparte through *Bank Buildings*, London. The First Consul is seated on a white horse, his hands tied and his head to the tail. One of his conductors carries the Union Jack topping the tricolour. Various cries are uttered by the spectators: One shouts, "I say, Boney, you've got past the Bank. I thought you was to call on the Old Lady in Threadneedle Street." Another cries: "We may thank our volunteers for this glorious sight." The allusion to the Bank of England in Gillray's powerful adaptation of the story of Belshazzar's Feast to satirical purposes will probably be remembered. Six days later Humphrey published another splendid caricature by that great artist entitled "The Corsican Pest, or Belzebub going to Supper." Paul Sandby is credited by Mr. Wright with the explanatory verses, of which the following three are fair specimens :—

"Buonaparte, they say, aye, good lack-a-day !
With French Legions will come hither swimming,
And like hungry Sharks, some night in the dark
Mean to frighten our Children and Women.
Tol de rol.

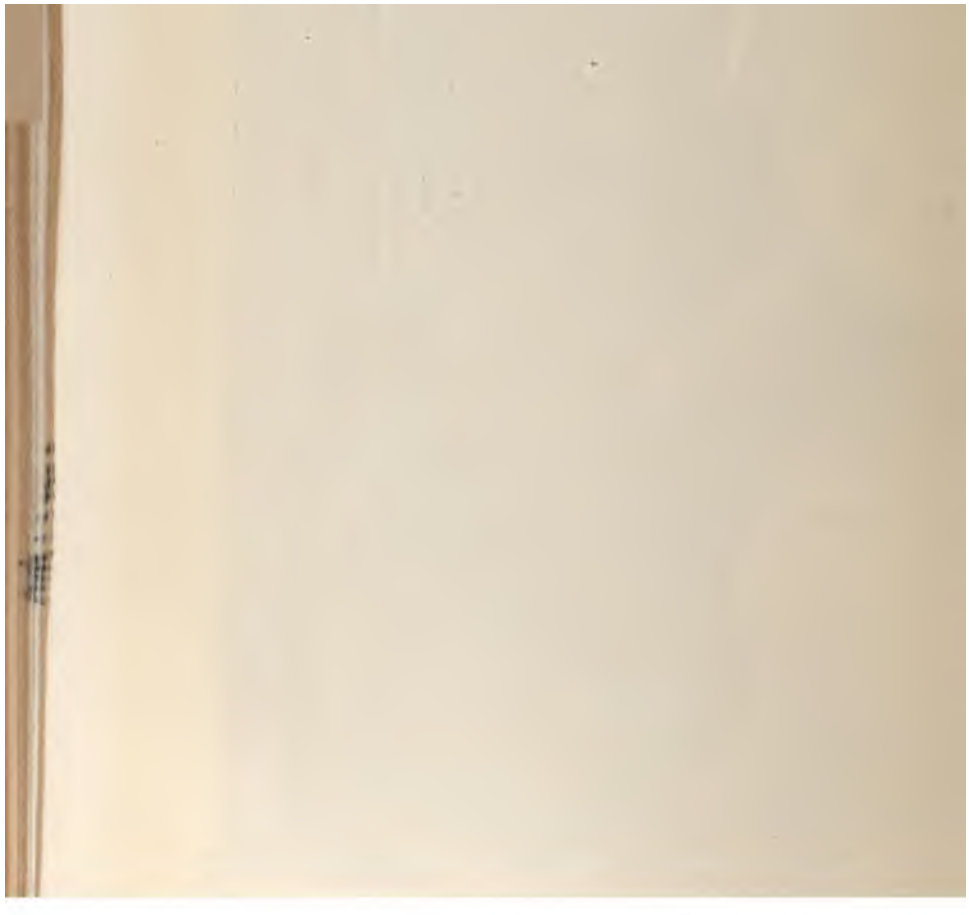
When these Gallic Foisters gape wide for our Oisters
Old Neptune will rise up with glee ;
Souse and pickle them quick to be sent to Old Nick,
As a treat from the God of the Sea.
Tol de rol.

. . . . . .

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 86.

LITTLE BONEY in the WHALES BELLEY

Published by Roberts, 1803



By the favor of Heaven to Our Monarch is given
The Power to avert such dire evil ;
His subjects are ready, all Loyal and Steady,
To hurl this damn'd Pest to the Devil !
Tol de rol." [1]

In the anonymous caricature, " The Balance of Power, or The Issue of the Contest " (Roberts, October 11), we have the first use, as far as English pictorial satire against Napoleon is concerned, of an idea as old as the end of the sixteenth century.[2] John Bull weighs down his natural enemy so effectually as to throw him into the flames of hell. In Ansell's " The King's Dwarf plays Gulliver a trick " (Fores, October 18) we see a grotesque figure in a green uniform standing by a table in which the manikin Bonaparte stuck fast in a marrow-bone upon a plate which bears the English royal arms. The English crown also surmounts a chair in the background. The King's Dwarf, with outstretched arms and evident glee, exclaims : " There, you insignificant little pigmy, I've *boned* you ! " [3] To Ansell is also attributed " The Little Princess and Gulliver " (Fores, October 21).[4] The Princess Charlotte, wearing a miniature of her father in volunteer uniform round her neck, is looking into a china punch-bowl in which Napoleon is seen half-drowned in its contents. With clenched fist, as if about to strike him, the princess says : " There, you impertinent, boasting, swaggering pigmy, take that ! You attempt to take

[1] Gillray himself wrote verses of this kind. See *ante*, ch. ii.

[2] In the collection of the writer is a caricature of 1600 engraved by Allardt entitled the " Bible in the Scale." In one scale are the Pope and his ecclesiastics ; in the other Luther, Calvin, and the Reformers. There is a still earlier caricature of 1580 in which the same theme is utilised.

[3] The authorship of this caricature is attributed to Ansell, but the King's Dwarf is an exact copy of a figure in Gillray's " Lordly Elevation " (Jan. 6, 1802).

[4] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 324.

my grandpapa's crown indeed, and plunder all his subjects. I'll let you know that the Spirit and Indignation of every girl in the Kingdom is roused at your insolence."

That the attention of the British public was once more strongly directed to Pitt is evidenced by Ansell's caricature, "The Centinel at his Post, or Boney's Peep into Walmer Castle" (Fores, October 22).[1] Pitt, the sentinel (as well as the pilot), cries, "Who goes there?" Bonaparte, crouching on a cannon in the prow of a boat, in which he approaches the shore with several officers, says: "Ah begar, ah begar, dat man alive still! Turn about, Citoyens, for there will be no good to be done. I know his tricks of old." A few days later (October 27) W. Holland published Woodward's "The Funeral Procession of Buonaparte," a plate nearly two yards in length and containing a large number of figures. Five blue devils bearing torches are leading the coffin of Bonaparte towards the jaws of a green dragon vomiting flames, monkeys acting as pall-bearers. On the coffin-lid are a scimitar and bowl of poison. Death and a Captain of the Consular Guard officiate as chief mourners. Behind the banner of the deceased march four ghosts from the plains of Jaffa. Behind them come groups of merry mourners, headed by Holland and Switzerland; Italy and the Pope playing the cymbals. The Russian bear carries a flag with the legend, "No farder trouble." The last group consists of a number of British sailors, showing very curiously the transition then taking place in their attire. They bear an effigy of John Bull, with his traditional pewter of stout and joint of beef, shouting the refrain of *Rule, Britannia*.[2]

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 144.

[2] *Cf.* "Italy's Entreaty" (ch. xxiii. p. 148), "Consular Family" (ch. x. p. 217), "A Sacrifice to Ambition" (ch. ix. p. 207).

St James's Volunteers firing at a Target at Kilburn Wells.

By G. M. Woodward, November, 1803

Cawse's caricature "John Bull guarding the Toy-Shop" (Fores, October 29) has already been described in the chapter dealing with the publishers and purveyors of Napoleonic caricatures.[1] Cawse's "Boney in time for Lord Mayor's Feast" (Fores, November 5) appeared at a season which doubtless added to its popularity. The Chief Magistrate and his brethren are feasting at the Mansion House. A sailor brings in Bonaparte attached to a chain with a heavy collar.[2] The sailor says: "'Ere he is, please yer Honours! We caught him when on the Suffolk coast. He was a little queerish at first, but a few stripes on the gangway soon brought him about. I told him he was in time for Lord Mayor's Show. What does your Honour think of him for the man in armour?" His Lordship replies: "Ay, you see how we live at this end of the town; but no roast beef, Master Boney. Let him have plenty of soup maigre, and in the evening take him up to the ballrooms to amuse the ladies. Come, here's (to) the glorious Ninth of November!" One of the most striking of the caricatures of this month is "John Bull United—Bona in two parts,"[3] which is lettered "J. C. Cooke, *fecit* 1803" (November 20), but bears the name of no publisher. On one side is seen a figure half-bull, half-sailor, and on the other a second figure half-Bonaparte, half-devil. The bull holds a musket in his hoof; round his body is a cartridge-pouch labelled "London Volunteers." From his mouth come the words "No division." The sailor holds an oaken cudgel in his hand, while from the pipe in his mouth proceed the words, "Come on,

[1] See *ante*, ch. iii. p. 53; *cf.* "Handwriting on the Wall," ch. ix. p. 188, and "Grand Triumphal Entry into London," ch. ix. p. 200.

[2] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 142.

[3] Reproduced in colours this caricature forms the frontispiece of *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii.

it's all a puff." "John Bull United" stands on ground labelled "Ireland, Scotland, England." "Bona in two parts" has a foot in Corsica, while the Devil's hoof resst on France. Bonaparte threatens John Bull with a sword, saying: "Invasion! plunder!" On the wing of the Devil are inscribed the names of Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Hanover. From his serpent's tongue come the words, "No quarter."

On the following day appeared (C. Knight, Lambeth, November 21) "The Honest Private and Great Colonel. *Vide* Guildhall Toast." The print is facetiously lettered, "Gog *del* and Magog *sculpt.*" Pitt, resplendent in his volunteer uniform, is drilling Fox and Sheridan, also in uniform. Pitt, looking towards Fox and indicating Sheridan with his sword, says: "Keep your eye upon the Corporal, *Mr. Honesty*, and when I have Drilled you to my liking, perhaps I may take you under my command, Mr. Honesty." To which Fox rejoins: "I do, I do, great Colonel. I shall mind my manœuvres, great Colonel." [1]

Within twenty-four hours Humphrey published Gillray's "Destruction of the French Gun-Boats, or Little Boney and his Friend Talley in high glee." Bonaparte, seated on the shoulders of Talleyrand behind the fortifications of Boulogne, looks through a roll of paper lettered

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 140. *Cf.* "Colonel Cinq-Ports drilling his Troops," "The Centinel at his Post," &c. As far back as May 10, 1798, Fores published a caricature portrait of Pitt in his volunteer uniform entitled, "The Royal Soldier in his Majesty's Service." Below it are the lines:—

"He would be a soldier, the sweet Willy O!
The first of all Swains
That gladdened the plains.
All Nature obeyed him—the sweet Willy O!"

"Talleyrand's plan for invading England," or the English fleet making havoc of his gun-boats. He says, laughingly: "Oh, my dear Tally, what a glorious sight! We've worked up Johnny Bull into a fine passion! My good fortune never leaves me! I shall now get rid of a hundred thousand French cut-throats, whom I was so afraid of! Oh, my dear Tally, this beats the Egyptian poisoning hollow! Bravo, Johnny, pepper 'em!" The print entitled "Boney's Journey to London, or The reason why he is so long in coming, *i.e.*, because he travels like a snail with his house on his back" (Fores, November 23), is attributed to Ansell.[1] The humour of this consists in placing the First Consul in a bathing-machine, dragged forward by soldiers, to whose backs a general mercilessly applies the lash. Woodward's print, "St. James's Volunteers firing at a Target at Kilburn" (now reproduced), was published by Holland about this time. It probably arose from the fact that an effigy of the First Consul, in some shape or another, served for a target. The writer finds that a similar target was very popular at this period with the "loyal volunteers" of Wells, Somerset. To the same publisher belongs the anonymous caricature, reproduced as an illustration from the collection of Mr. F. Brothers, entitled "John Bull Sounding his Bugle." The print will speak for itself. A tiny Bonaparte in response to the deafening blast exclaims: "Ah Miseracorde, I shall never have my hearing again!"

Passing over a number of minor productions we come to a very remarkable print by John Nixon (Holland, December 1),[2] which is one of the most curious of all the

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 274.
[2] *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 24.

"invasion" caricatures. Bonaparte is seen in his palace surrounded by generals and soldiers of ferocious aspect. Josephine holds his hat in one hand and places the other lovingly on his shoulder. At his feet kneel his Corsican relatives, with large rings in their ears. In the background is a map of England, marked out as follows: "London and Edinburgh for myself, York for my brother Jerome, Hull for Talleyrand, Isle of Wight for Cambacérès, Plymouth for Berthier, and Bath for my wife." Liverpool remains unallotted. At his feet lie a heap of diagrams and papers. Amongst them are seen plans of Citizen Vent's Balloon, "to convey ten thousand men to Dover," a picture of the Bank of England, a cork jacket, and a child's caul, with S. Safeguard's Bill for the same; a muster roll of the Volunteers of England, and two lists showing the striking difference between the sum subscribed at Lloyd's for national defence and those raised at Paris in aid of the invasion.

The caricature "Colonel Cinq-Ports drilling his Recruits and forming a Battalion" (Fores, December 9),[1] testifies still further to the growing power of Pitt, and his desire to conciliate his former adversaries at a time of national danger. In the courtyard of the House of Commons at the same time close to the door of the Treasury, Pitt, in the uniform of a Volunteer Colonel, is drilling Fox and Sheridan. To the left a figure, half in Naval and half in Volunteer uniform, points a musket to the House of Commons, with the words: "First Motion." Pitt, pointing his sword to Fox, says: "Come, Mr. Honesty, attend to your duty. Observe the corporal

[1] Reproduced in colours in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 320.

low-
peral,
as the
ill soon

Holborn,
quatint by
was entitled
produced in
ing before an
, &c. On a
the lines :—

guilt,
spilt,
ckly troops,
groups,
ast me a name,
for fame.
while I live,

wing inscription :—

Ambition

a victor's name,
nature and her shame.
attempt to read,
marks each horrid deed.
erwhelmed with tears,
lost, that told his years."

First Consul a chalice of blood,
flames towards him from the
which he stands.

A very large number of caricatures were issued during the last month of the year, which commenced with dreams of peace. Amongst them may be mentioned, "The New Bellman's Verses for Christmas 1803," "Mr. and Mrs. John Bull giving Buonaparte a Christmas Treat," "More than Expected, or Too Many for Boney" (foreshadowing the possibility of a Third Coalition), "The Corsican Cæsar presented to Mr. and Mrs. Bull," and "Buonaparte and Abraham Newland." In the last Bonaparte is threatened with a knock-down blow from the three per cent. consolidated annuities! West was the author of "The Brobdingnag Watchman preventing Gulliver landing," in which the energy of George III. is cleverly depicted, and in the anonymous plate "Boney, or The Castle Spectre," we see Bonaparte at Walmer Castle frightened by Pitt. "Britannia weighing the Fate of Europe, or John Bull too heavy for Buonaparte" is another version of the balance theme already referred to.[1] It is reproduced as an illustration. Here again we find a reference to the physical force attributed by tradition to roast beef and pudding. When John turns the scale he shouts exultingly: "Oh, conceited little boaster, to pretend to be weighed against me! Does he think I eat beef and pudding for nothing?"

One of the last of the invasion caricatures of this eventful year was Charles's "Bone-a-part in a Fresh Place," now reproduced. In it Napoleon is depicted with one foot in a ship, while the other is caught firmly in a spring-gun on shore. With his right hand he tenders his sword to John Bull, saying: "Here take this, Mr. Bull; you have me in your power. I must

[1] See *ante*, p. 201.

J. Boyne, Del. A SACRIFICE TO AMBITION. *J. Barth, Sculp.*

BRITANNIA weighing the FATE of EUROPE;
or
JOHN BULL too heavy for BUONAPARTE.

Anonymous caricature of December, 1803

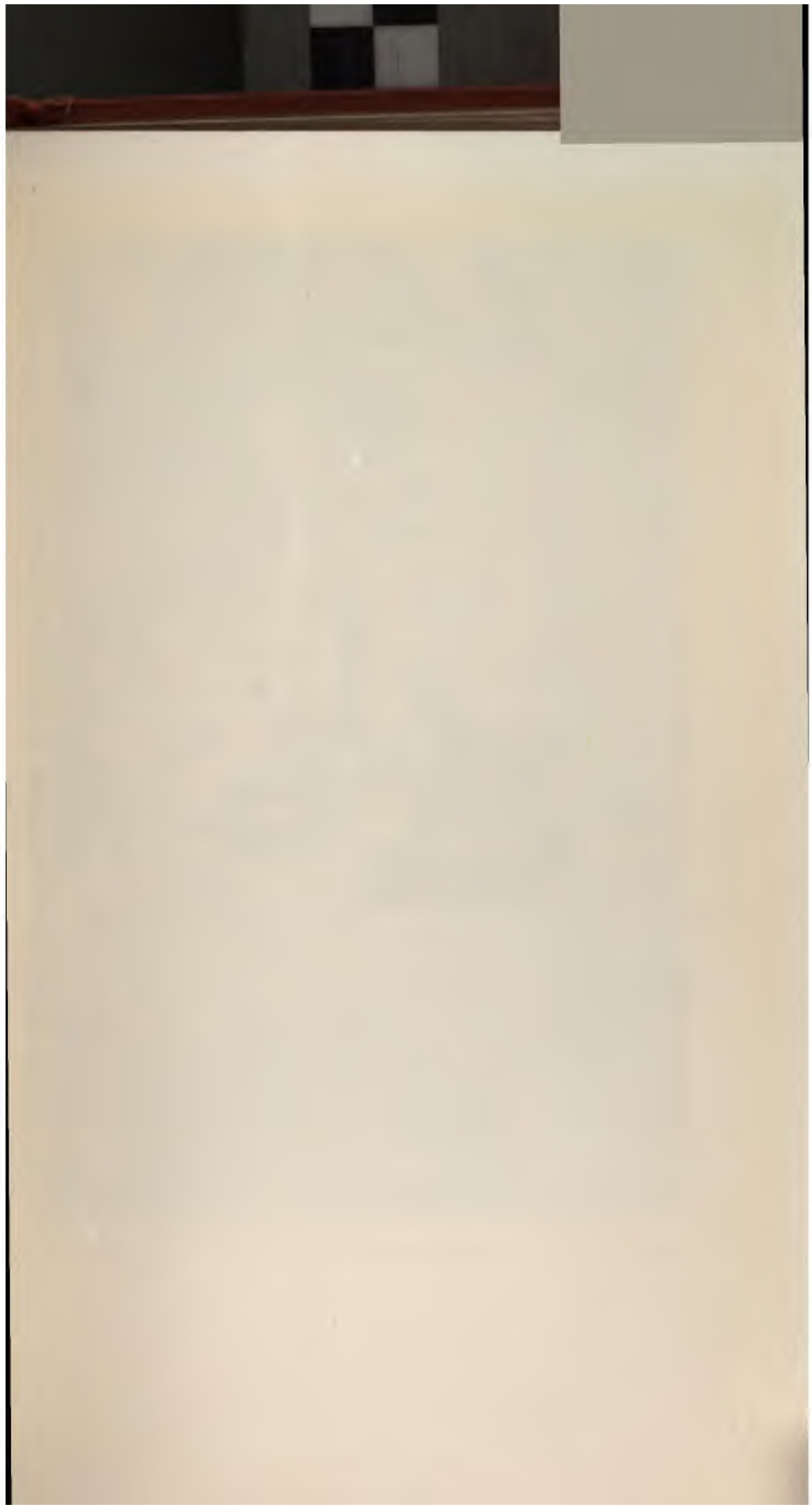
do." To which his companion replies, "Rigt (*sic*), Tom, and I take them there things to be Boney's Crest—a skull without brains."

A little later the same publisher issued Woodward's "Patience on a Monument smiling at Grief,"[1] in which the flotilla is made the subject of further ridicule. John Bull sits on the top of a column inscribed "The British Constitution," the arms of England on its base, and a lion crouching behind it. He looks down, pipe in hand, on the Channel, beneath the waves of which a convoy of gunboats is disappearing. He exclaims, gazing at Bonaparte, who is weeping profusely: "I told you they would be all swamped, but you would be so d—d obstinate. 'The mighty chief with 50,000 men marched to the coast and then marched back again.'" Bonaparte whimpers, "Oh, my poor crazy gunboats, why did I venture so far?"

Woodward's "Dutch Embarkation, or Needs must when the Devil drives" (no name of publisher given) portrays the hardships inflicted on the inhabitants of the Dutch littoral by Bonaparte's invasion schemes. The First Consul is depicted in the act of inducing a number of Dutchmen to put to sea in cockle-shells, each carrying a cannon. He says to one of them: "Come, come, Sir! No grumbling. I insist on you embarking and destroying the modern Carthage. Don't you consider the liberty you enjoy and the grand flotilla that is to carry you over?" The Dutchman replies: "D—n such liberty and d—n such a flotilla! I tell you we might as well embark in walnut-shells."

There is no better-known Napoleonic caricature in

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 174.



trust to your usual generosity, and most humbly acknowledge I am truly sorry that ever I came here." John Bull replies: "He has plundered most of his neighbours' gardens, but I thought he would be sorry if ever he set his foot in mine. I suppose the big sword is what he intended to cut my cabbages with and perhaps my head off too! But I'll have it for a pruning-knife. 'Twill serve me to lop off his branches with if any should spring up after I have taken care of him." To the right is indicated the Continent of Europe in outline, inscribed "France ruined," "Italy plundered," "Switzerland enslaved," and so forth.

On November 28, 1803, the First Consul paid another visit to the naval shipyard at the Invalides, where the building of gun-boats was still in progress. Leaving Paris on December 30, the first day of the new year saw him once more at Boulogne. On January 2 he reviewed the fleet. After visiting the camps at Ambleteuse and Wimereux he returned to Paris towards the end of the week. On January 6, Ansell's gruesome caricature, "The Coffin Expedition, or Boney's Invincible Armada half-seas over," appeared. A number of coffins are seen floating like boats in mid-channel. The crews wear shrouds, with Phrygian caps on their heads. Skulls crowned with Phrygian caps are seen at the mast-head. In one of the coffin-boats is a corpse, another is sinking, while the crew of a third are taking to the sea. The captain of one of the boats cries: "Oh, de Corsican Conqueror was make dese gun-boats on purpose for our funeral!" British ships are seen in the offing. From a sailor on one of them come the words: "I say, Messmate, if we don't bear up quickly there will be nothing for us to

Here take this of Bull-you have me in your power-I must trust to your usual generosity and most humbly acknowledge I am truly sorry that ever I come here!—
He has Plunder'd most of his Neighbours Gardens but I thought he would be sorry if ever he dit his foot in mine I suppose this big sword is what he intended to cut my cabbages with-and perhaps my head off too!-but I'll have it for a pruning knife-twill serve me to lop off his Branches with if any should spring up after I have taken care of him!—
Holland Plunder'd
Switzerland Enslaved
Italy Plunder'd
FRANCE Ruined
Paris
To Mr Bull's Nursery Ground
Spring Guns & Steel Traps set here
Charles Del
Pub'd by J. Harris

THE BONE-A-PART IN A FRESH PLACE.

By W. Charles, December, 1803

existence than Gillray's "The King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver" (Humphrey, February 10, 1804), in which King George and various members of his family are portrayed in the act of watching the efforts of "Little Boney" to manœuvre a boat in a cistern. It was etched from a design of Lieut.-Col. Bradyll of the Coldstream Guards. It exists in various sizes and was reprinted abroad. In the writer's collection is a Spanish version of the print which became very popular during the Peninsular War.

In the spring of this year were also published "Bonaparte's Grand Exposé" (Holland), which may probably be attributed to Woodward; an anonymous print, "Nick Frog's Lamentation on the Loss of his Milk" (Holland); T. West's "A French Alarmist, or John Bull looking out for the Grand Flotilla" (Holland), and "The Corsican Chicken Butcher and the Drake" (Holland). This anonymous caricature, which appeared in April, relates to the imposture successfully practised on Sir Francis Drake, the British Minister at Munich, by a French spy, known as Count Mehée de la Touche, who was suddenly recalled, and never again employed on the public service. This affair became the subject of several French caricatures.[2] "The Upshot of the Invasion, or Boney in a fair way for Davey's Locker," forms the frontispiece of the "Anti-gallican."[3] "The Frenchman's Dream," showing the First Consul in the act of carving an immense joint of beef, comes from the same source.

In February and March the First Consul was much

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 202.
[2] See *post*, vol. ii. ch. xix. p. 42.
[3] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 286.

CHAPTER X

ENGLISH CARICATURES OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON BETWEEN MAY 18, 1804, AND THE END OF THE YEAR OF TRAFALGAR, 1805

"The thunderous shouts which acclaimed the prowess of the new Frankish leader were as warlike as those which ever greeted the hoisting of a Carlovingian king on the shields of his lieges. Distant nations heard the threatening din, and hastened to muster their forces for the fray."—DR. J. HOLLAND ROSE, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 482.

"While the Mounseers at Paris of Emperors boast,
Confusion to Frenchmen in London's the toast;
For while Gallic Invaders threaten John Bull,
John means with the Frenchman to have a strong pull."
—*Mr. Dignum's Song at Vauxhall Gardens, June* 1804.

"May the old title of Rex be always more esteemed by Britons than that of Imperator."—*A London Toast of* 1804.

TEN days after Pitt's return to office, Humphrey published Gillray's caricature, "Britannia between Death and the Doctors," which summed up the political situation in England very strikingly. "Doctor" Addington's treatment had nearly thrown his long-suffering patient Britannia into the power of political death, personified, of course, by her arch-enemy Napoleon, and her life is only saved by the sudden reappearance of her old and trusted physician, "Doctor" Pitt. The new-comer is represented in the act of kicking his predecessor out of the house, and in doing so has knocked out of Addington's hand a bottle containing "Composing Draft" (*sic*).

What have we got here eh! a Fellow that has stolen some Dollars and made a Crown of them eh! and then wants to pass them off for Sterling. it won't go it won't pass Fellow.
Damn it why a looks as tho' all the Gold of all Nations had been melted down to make the Crown
There Brother! there I shall soon be as Big as you, do a real Crown but I'm cursed hungry my Head begins to ache already. I say can't we have a good meeting like Henry the 8th and Francis the 1st
THE FROG and the OX
The Emperor of the Gulls, in his Stolen Gear.
The Roman People were grossly gulled twice or thrice over and as often enslaved in one Century and under the same pretence of

By C. Ansell, May 28, 1804

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hy a looks as though
one of our oxen tho'."
rother, there, I shall soon
own, but it is cursed heavy;
ady. I say, can't we have
ry VIII. and Francis I.?"[1]
t Man on his Hobby-horse"
on) and "A New French Phan-

[1] ...oreshadows the letter offering peace addressed ... January 1805.

tasmagoria" (anonymous, both as regards author and publisher) were both intended to ridicule Napoleon's new title. In the latter the Emperor, clad in a scarlet robe, with sceptre, crown, and collar of gold, holds his hand out in welcome. John Bull as a sailor, with huge goggles on his nose, beholds him in astonishment. Napoleon says: "What, my old friend Mr. Bull, don't you know me?" John Bull replies: "Bless me, what comes here? It's time to put on my large spectacles and tuck up my trousers. Why, surely it can't be—it is Boney too for all that. Why, what game be'st thee at now? Acting a play, mayhap? What hast thee got on thy head there? Always at some new freak or other."

Isaac Cruikshank is responsible for another caricature on the same theme, entitled "The Right Owner" (T. Williamson, June 1), which is now reproduced. The ghost of Louis XVI., pointing to the crown and addressing Napoleon, says, "That's mine." The new Emperor, crouching in his chair, on the back of which are the letters "N. R.," cries, "Angels and Ministers of Grace defend me." Although he has donned his crown and imperial robes, he wears a belt into which are stuck several pistols and daggers. Next day (June 2) Fores published Ansell's "The Cold-Blooded Murderer and the Assassination of the Duke de D'enghein" (*sic*), but the tragedy to which it alludes occurred as far back as March 20. It need hardly be said that the details given are purely apocryphal. The unfortunate Duke is bound hand and foot to the trunk of a tree. Two masked officers hold torches while Bonaparte wounds his victim repeatedly with the end of a sabre, saying: "Now de

By Isaac Cruikshank, June 1, 1804

whole Warld shall know the courage of the First Grand Consul, dat I can kill my enemies in de dark as well as de light, by night as well as by day; dere! and dere! (stabbing). I had him—hark, vat noise was dat, oh, it's only de wind, dere! again and dere! (stabbing). Now I shall certainly be made Emperor of de Gulls!" The victim answers: "Assassin! your banditti need not cover my Eyes. I fear not death, though perhaps a guiltless countenance may appal your bloodthirsty soul!" A crowd of demons hover in the air, wearing caps of liberty. Two of them hold a crown over the head of Bonaparte saying: "This glorious deed does well deserve a crown. Thus let us feed his wild ambition until some bold avenging hand shall make him all our own." In the background is seen a group of knights in armour, the devices on whose shields proclaim them to be Austria, Russia, and Prussia. One of them exclaims: "Brothers, if these are the Treacherous, Bloodthirsty designs of this tyrant, it is high time that we united with England in one common cause for the sake of suffering Humanity, and to arrest the progress of his Infernal Machin—ations."

Rowlandson's caricature, "The Consular Family on their last Journey" (Ackermann, June 8), now reproduced, can hardly be described as in the artist's best style. Napoleon and his wife are being driven in a gilded coach surmounted by the imperial crown, by the Devil, who with a scourge urges two enormous dragons harnessed to it into the flames.[1] Three devils act as footmen behind. In the inside of the coach Madame

[1] See *ante*, "A Sacrifice to Ambition," ch. ix. p. 207, and *post*, "Italy's Entreaty," vol. ii. ch. xxiii. p. 148.

Bonaparte, addressing the crowned Emperor, says: "My dear sir Nap, how charmingly we ride, but it seems very much downhill." Over the coach are the lines :—

> "Let Beggars on Horseback—they'll ride to the Devil,
> Is an old English Adage that many will broach,
> But on this occasion the prince of all Evil
> Has kindly consented to lend them a coach."

On June 18 Humphrey published Gillray's celebrated caricature, "L'Assemblée Nationale, or Grand Co-operative Meeting at St. Ann's Hill—Respectfully Dedicated to the Admirers of a Broad-Bottomed Administration." This masterpiece of Gillray's inimitable skill followed closely on a warm debate in the House of Commons during which Pitt was bitterly attacked by Fox and Sheridan, reinforced by Addington and the Grenvilles. The plate is said to have been practically suppressed on account of the appearance in it of the Prince of Wales. There is scarcely a line in this extraordinary composition which does not, either directly or indirectly, contribute to its pungency. In the centre of the drawing-room wall, decorated of course after the French fashion, is a huge girandole in which Napoleon crowned, with his cocked hat lying at his feet, does duty as a candle-bearing Atlas. To the left is a framed portrait of George III.—*Patriæ Pater ;* to the right a painting inscribed "Worshippers of the Rising Sun," its frame surrounded by grapes and surmounted by the Prince of Wales's plume. Mr. and Mrs. Fox in the centre are receiving the homage of the portly Grenville, who bows till his forehead almost touches his gouty foot. On the fan of the hostess the portrait of "Napoleone I." is prominent. Lord Moira,

Set Beggars on Horseback - they'll ride to the Devil
Is an old English Adage that many will swear.
But on this great occasion - the Prince of all evil
Has kindly consented to lend them a Cart !!!
THE CONSULAR FAMILY ON THEIR LAST JOURNEY.

By T. Rowlandson, June 12, 1804

standing behind Fox, stifles a yawn. Close to him is the Duchess of Devonshire, on whose fan the music of "The Devonshire Delight, or The New Coalition Reel" is discernible. Standing at a table to the right is the Prince of Wales (indicated only by the back view) with a packet labelled "Henry IV. and the Prince of Wales, I know you all, &c.," protruding from his pocket. At the table sits Mrs. Fitzherbert. On her fan are the motto and plume of her husband *de facto*. On the other side of the table, apparently talking to his brother, is the Duke of Clarence. Mrs. Jordan, standing close by, is reading the prompt book of "Jobson and Nell, or The Farce of Equality." Grey is engaged in showing Erskine the "Arrangements of the New Broad-Bottom'd Administration," in which "Citizen Volpone" (Fox) has the first place. Behind the Grenvilles are seen Sheridan (in his pocket a document lettered, "In the Press—Coalition—a Bran-new Pantomime"), and Lord Derby, leaning on the arm of his consort (*née* Elizabeth Farren), whose fan is adorned with a vignette, "Strolling Players in a Barn." Whitbread, a tankard in one hand and a bumper of port in the other, is engaged in discussing with the Duke of Norfolk a scheme for the improvement of English breeds by introducing a French strain, while another *citoyen* is busy with *The Morning Chronicle*. There are six-and-thirty figures in all, and in the doorway stands the astonished Marquis of Salisbury, with his Chamberlain's staff ominously broken in two. King George had apparently been put out of the way, but there is nothing to indicate his having been executed to give place to the National Assembly.

In Cawse's "Corsican Relatives at the Court of the

Emperor of the Gulls" (Holland), we see Napoleon in all the pomp and circumstance of his new dignity. Certain beggars from Corsica approach the throne, upon which the Emperor, turning towards Talleyrand, says: "As these are part of our relatives, do you, Tally, get them washed and enrol their names in the Legion of Honour."

Holland at this time (June 1804) published the anonymous caricature entitled, "Injecting Blood Royal, or Phlebotomy at St. Cloud." In this print three doctors are represented as busily engaged taking blood from a chained tiger and injecting it into the new Emperor, who is sitting on a throne wearing the imperial crown. Bonaparte says: "Oh, it's a delightful operation! I feel the citizenship oozing out of my finger ends! Let all the family be plentifully supplied! Carry up a bucketful to the Empress immediately!!!" One of the doctors, bucket in hand, answers, "I am going up with it directly, please your majesty."

To Ansell is attributed the caricature published by Fores on July 9, 1804, entitled "A Proposal from the New Emperor. Does not the Emperor mean by this request to become the Collector of the Revenues of Messrs. Whitbread, Thrale, &c.?" which is now reproduced. Napoleon, clad in a long red robe, with sceptre and crown in hand, approaches John Bull attired in a flowered waistcoat, wearing a bouquet in his buttonhole, leaning on his stout cudgel and accompanied by his dog. Napoleon says: "My dear cousin Bull, I have a request to make you. The good people whom I govern have been so lavish of their favours towards me that they have exhausted every title in the Empire, therefore in

By C. Ansell. July 9, 1804

addition I wish you to make me a Knight of Malta." John replies curtly: "I'll see you d—d first!" Isaac Cruikshank's "The Corsican Cuckoo. A bird of passage lately discovered in France and supposed to be the most crafty of its species" (Williamson, July 26), deals with the same theme, but in so coarse a manner that any detailed description is impossible. There is no need of any special mention of Rowlandson's "The Imperial Coronation" (July 31), Isaac Cruikshank's "Harlequin's Last Step" (Williamson), "Sailors in Westminster Abbey" (Fores), or James Bisset's "Loyalist Alphabet," in which C stands for Corsican Tyrant, D for Bonaparte's downfall, and so forth. In September 1804 Holland published the anonymous caricature, now reproduced, entitled "The Continental Scarecrow," which throws some amusing light on the political situation of Europe in the autumn preceding Napoleon's coronation. In the centre is Napoleon depicted as a huge scarecrow, with an enormous crown. He holds out an orb in one hand and a sceptre in the other. At his feet are two monkeys, a greyhound, and a frog. They wear collars with the words, *France*, *Italy*, *Holland*. One of the monkeys says: "I am afraid, brother, we have made his head too large for his body." The other replies: "Oh, not at all! All hail, most mighty Emperor! Thus I take off the cap of liberty in thy august presence." Italy licks the feet of the Conqueror, but the "All hail!" of Holland is said to be much against the grain. John Bull from across the Straits of Dover shouts: "What the devil are you all afraid of? He's only stuffed with straw. They wanted to plant him in my cornfields, but that they found would not do." Russia expresses a wish to

walk over to him with his ragged staff, but Prussia advises Austria to go to roost, although the latter hankers after a peck at the newly-crowned Emperor. The Swiss behind their mountains pray for the spirit of William Tell. The time for the Third Coalition had not quite arrived, but it was fast approaching.

During the summer and autumn of 1804 the Emperor's energy was phenomenal. On July 20 he arrived at Boulogne, and he did not leave the coast till August 27, and then it was only to set out on a rapid tour along the left bank of the Rhine. On September 1 he arrived at Brussels. There was no sign of any cessation of the preparations for an immediate attack on England. Nor was Pitt less vigilant. The all-important question of national defence was never for a moment out of his thoughts. On September 1 he penned the following letter, which speaks for itself :—

William Pitt in Downing Street to Lieut.-Colonel Dillon at Walmer.

DOWNING STREET, *September* 1, 1804.

MY DEAR SIR,—As the harvest is now nearly over, I imagine this would be a very fitting time for proposing to assemble your Battalion on permanent duty ; and there seems chance enough of the occasion arriving for actual Service, to make it desirable that there should be as little delay as possible. Lord Carrington has gone to Deal Castle to-day, and if you can contrive to see him to-morrow, or next day, I shall be glad if you will settle with him the necessary arrangements. I think the time should not be less than three weeks, and in that case, an extra allowance will be made of a guinea per Man, which added to the usual pay will amount to two

Take my advice Brother and let us go to roost
He looks very fierce take care but for all that I have a great mind to walk over to him with my ragged Staff
Oh the spirit of William Tell
Now Me
What the Devil are you all afraid of he is only Stuff'd with Straw.- they wanted to plant him in the corn fields- but that they found would not do
I am afraid Brother we have made the Hind too long for the Body
Oh my fat sides... All Hail most mighty Emperor - Dear Brother of Tilsey on thy ample proportions
John Bull
Oh my fat most mighty Emperor
All Hail most mighty Emperor I spit contrarily against the grain thereof
Pub.d by W. Holland Feb.y 1804
Cathspiner Street London
The Continental Scare Crow!!

Anonymous caricature of September, 1804

pincers are not half hot; save those nails for my Cabinet, and if she dies we can make a confession for her."

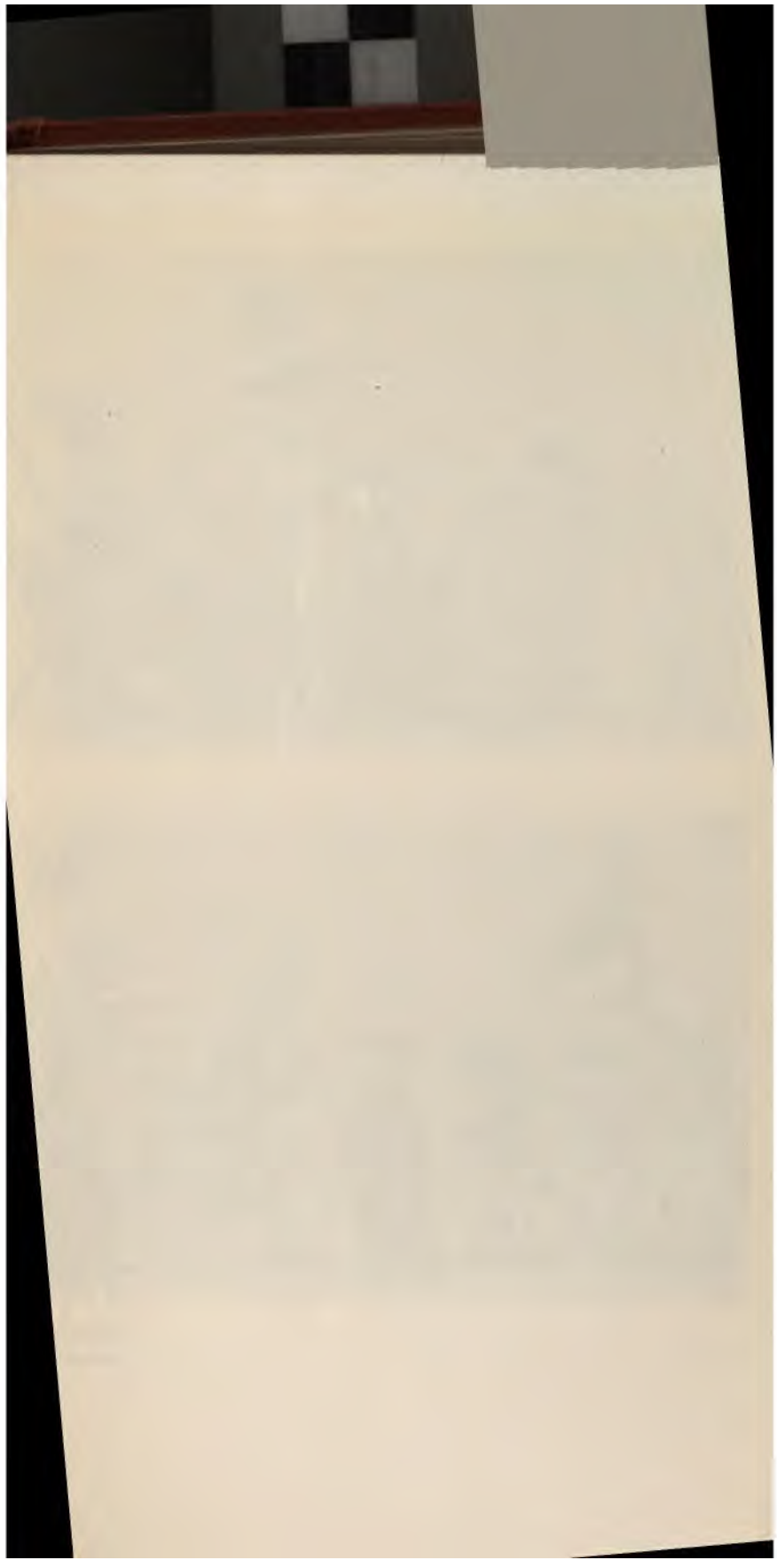
Spain was now inclining to an alliance with Napoleon, and agreed to pay him a subsidy. She also consented to repair five French warships which had taken refuge from our cruisers at Ferrol. The upshot of all this was the capture on October 5 by the British fleet of several Spanish treasure-ships bound for Cadiz. The news must have soon reached England, for on November 1 Fores published the anonymous caricature, "The Dons outwitted, or John Bull in time for once." On November 26 Humphrey produced a caricature by Gillray entitled "The Genius of France Nursing her Darling." The seated figure of Revolutionary France, a blood-stained female wearing a Phrygian cap, holds in one hand a child's rattle surmounted by the imperial crown, while in the other she dandles Napoleon just snatched from a cradle, but wearing his imperial robe over his uniform and holding a sceptre. Behind the chair is a shield displaying the decollated head of Louis XVI.; a bloody lance leans against the wall. France sings:—

"There's a little King Pippin,
He shall have a rattle and crown.
Bless thy five wits, my baby,
Mind it don't throw itself down.
Hey, my kitten, my kitten."

Below are the lines:—

"False of heart, light of ear, bloody of hand,
Fox in stealth, wolf in greediness, dog in madness,
Lion in prey—bless thy five wits."

On December 2 Napoleon crowned himself and his wife at Notre Dame in the presence of Pope Pius VII.,



PROCESSION

Anonymous car

E CORONATION
of January, 1805

from whose hands the new Emperor received the holy oil, and who gave him the pontifical benediction. The gorgeous ceremony afforded abundant occupation to the caricaturists on this side of the Channel. On December 14 Ackermann was first in the field with Rowlandson's "Death of Madame République"; on December 20 Fores brought out Ansell's "The Corsican Usurper's New Imperial French Arms";[1] quite at the end of the year Williamson published an anonymous caricature on the political situation which he called "Fandango danced by enslaved nations by order of Bonaparte." Possibly it was intended to help on the Third Coalition, the negotiations for which were now making sensible progress.

It was at this time that Charles devised a curious caricature, "New Threats from Boney's Old Friend," as the heading of a broadside which he published at 49 Theobald's Road. In this free use is made of the Devil and his fiery furnace. Eleven lines of wretched doggerel end thus :—

> "In vain thy quiver with such shafts is cram'd,
> For Conscience is the curse of all the Dam'd."

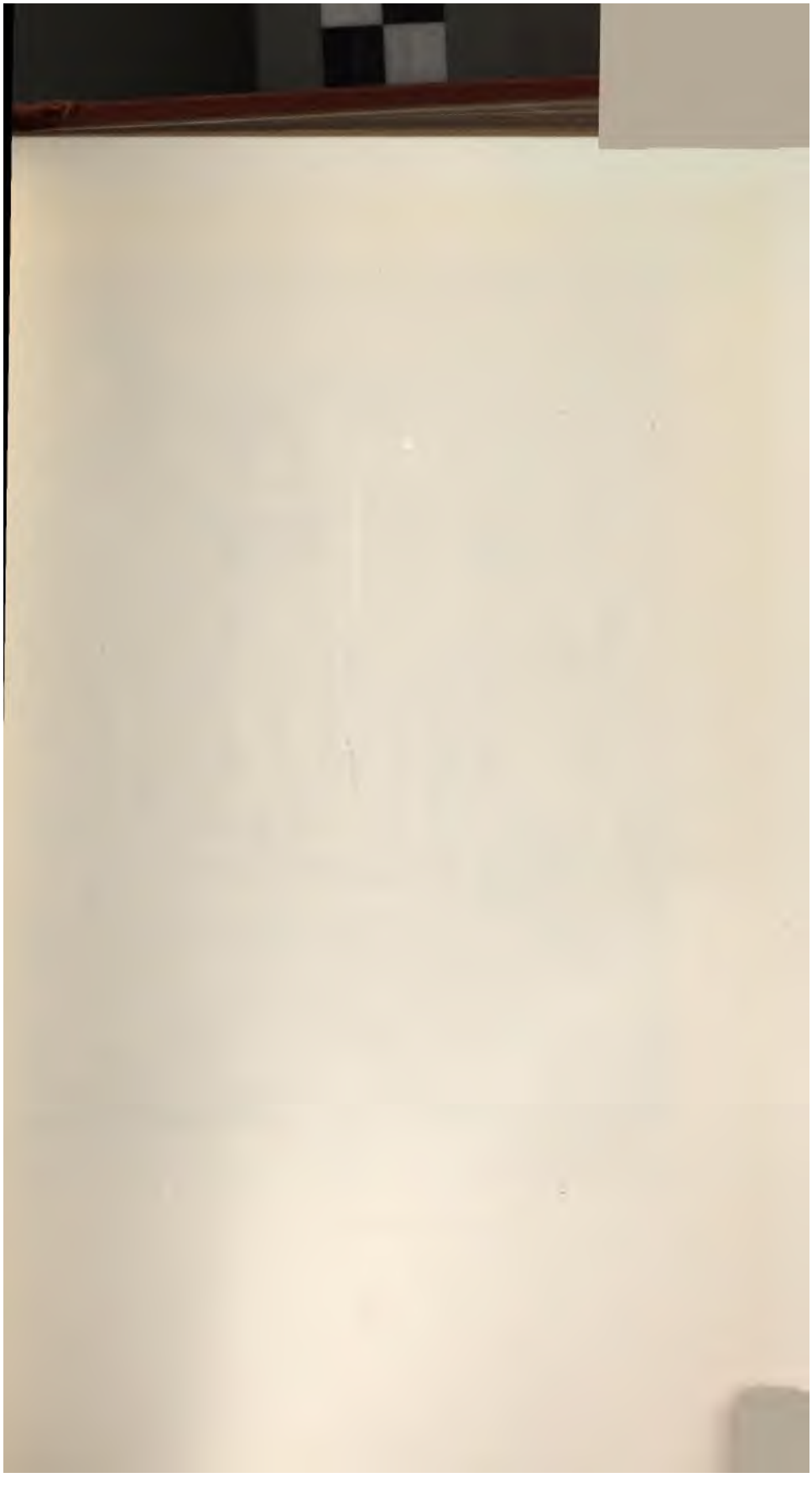
Mistress Humphrey's new year's gift to her patrons was another of Gillray's masterpieces, "The Grand Coronation Procession of Napoleon I., Emperor of France, from the Church of Notre Dame, December 2, 1804." This wonderful plate, containing over a hundred figures, demonstrates in a striking manner the vast and varied powers of the artist, who was now located permanently at 27 St. James's Street, and (in theory at any rate) working solely for the House of Humphrey. No allusion which can

[1] See *post*, ch. xxviii.

possibly throw ignominy upon the newly-crowned potentate is omitted. The inscription beneath, divided into five compartments, tells its own story. The procession begins with the *Garde d'Honneur*, a set of ruffians carrying banners, amongst which the guillotine and the eagle of France are seen side by side. Senator Fouché holds up the sword of honour; Berthier, Bernadotte, and all the "brave train of Republican generals" march in two rows. The imperial robe is held up by Holland, Prussia, and Spain, while noseless Ladies of Honour (*ci-devant poissardes*) perform a similar office for the obese Josephine. In front of the Emperor and Empress walks the Pope, "now conducted by his old friend Cardinal Fesch, offering incense." The keys of St. Peter hang from his neck by a tricolour ribbon, which is grasped by the Devil disguised as an acolyte; then comes Talleyrand, his club-foot painfully emphasised; he bears the Napoleonic genealogical tree, in which are seen such words as *Boney butcher*, &c.; Madame Talleyrand leads the heir-apparent (eldest son of Louis Bonaparte); she is described as *ci-devant* "Mrs. Halhead, the prophetess." In front of the procession roses are strewn profusely by "the three imperial graces, namely their imperial Highnesses, Princess Borghese, Princess Louis Cher (*sic*) Amie of ye Emperor, and Princess Joseph Bonaparte." Far less known than Gillray's print is the anonymous caricature with the same title and measuring nearly two yards in length, published on the same day by Holland, two sections of which are now reproduced. The imperial car is drawn by a tiger and a wolf. A demon on the box displays a flag lettered "Long live the Emperor of the gulls, Napoleon I." Behind the car a soldier scourges

Js. Gillray.

CI-DEVANT OCCUPATIONS, OR, MADAME TALLIEN AND THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE DANCING NAKED BEFORE BARRAS IN THE WINTER OF 1797.—A FACT.



month of August the provocations offered to Austria and Prussia culminated in the Third Coalition, to bring about which Pitt had laboured incessantly ever since his return to power. On August 22 the Emperor heard at Boulogne that Austria continued to arm; a few hours later the intelligence reached him that Villeneuve had returned to Cadiz. "On August 29," writes Dr. Holland Rose, "the *Army of England* became the *Grand Army*, composed of seven corps, led by Bernadotte, Marmont, Davoust, Soult, Lannes, Ney, and Augereau. The cavalry was assigned to Murat, while Bessières was in command of the Imperial Guard, now numbering some 10,000 men." [1] Before Napoleon set out for the front he found time to revise the decree in virtue of which France was to return to the Gregorian calendar from the commencement of 1806. Before that enactment came into force the French and Spanish fleets had sustained a crushing defeat at Trafalgar (October 21); Mack had surrendered at Ulm (October 26); the Emperor had entered Vienna as a conqueror (November 13), and the crowning victory of Austerlitz had been won on the first anniversary of the imperial coronation (December 2). On December 15 an armistice was concluded; eleven days later (December 26) the terms of a treaty with Austria were finally arranged at Pressburg. Before another month had passed away William Pitt was dead. The ignominious end of the Third Coalition broke his heart.

On January 2, 1805, the Emperor wrote a conciliatory letter to George III., but the King of England declined to entertain any proposals without reference to the other Powers, and especially to Russia. For a brief period

[1] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. p. 18.

the half-naked figure of Madame République, and the last groups consist of Liberty on crutches and Slavery triumphant.

Isaac Cruikshank was the author of the caricature, "A Great Man made Overseer, Amen," published by Williamson on January 20, 1805, now reproduced. Napoleon stands in a pillory, placed upon the terrestrial globe. Dead cats and other missiles are being flung at him. Britannia looking on says: "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted." At the feet of Napoleon lies his broken sword. A monkey perched at the corner holds out a manifesto signed N. B. Above runs the legend: "The Punishment of Murder, Perjury, Cruelty, Deceit, and Impudence."

That the capture of the Spanish ships occupied the mind of the public for some considerable time is shown by the caricatures, "The Glorious Pursuit of Ten against Seventeen" (Argus, January 24, 1805) and Woodward's "Spanish Comfort" (Ackermann, February 1, 1805). The latter relates rather to Napoleon's coercive policy towards Spain. In this caricature we see Napoleon addressing a Spaniard and saying: "By my imperial dignity, I'll thrash you if you don't fight." To which John Bull in the guise of a sailor rejoins: "And by my blue jacket and trousers I'll drub you if you do."

The year 1805 was one of the most eventful in the life of Napoleon, although the English caricatures relating to him are scarcely as numerous as in 1804 and 1803. It witnessed the collapse of Napoleon's last and most promising scheme for the invasion of England.[1] In the

[1] See *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. ch. xviii. and xix.; J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. ch. xxi. pp. 482–507.

Napoleon is entitled "The Plumb-Pudding in Danger, or State Epicures taking *un petit souper*. 'The great world itself and all which it inherits' is too small to satisfy such insatiable appetites; *vide* Mr. Windham's eccentricities in the *Political Register*" (Humphrey, February 26). This plate refers to the peace overtures of the preceding month. Pitt and Napoleon are seated at table, having between them a monster plum-pudding which they are busily engaged in dividing. While the Emperor cuts off the portion lettered "Europe," Pitt quietly appropriates the ocean.

Catholic Emancipation again becomes a burning question with the Opposition. Hence the anonymous caricature "The Catholic Petitioners receiving the Papal Benediction" (Fores, May 26), which the writer is inclined to attribute to Isaac Cruikshank. Fox, Sheridan, Lord Derby, and Lord Moira kneel before the Pope in full pontificals. Stretching out his hands over Fox he says, "Bless you all, my children, for the great good you intended; my master here will be very much disappointed." Napoleon in his imperial robes, sword in one hand, and the other on the Pope's shoulder, says: "Thank them for pleading your cause, and particularly for their assertion that the Roman Catholic religion is totally altered. Make the people believe that and we will soon give them the second part of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*."

About this time, or a little later, Isaac Cruikshank designed a caricature to which he gave the name of "Alexander and Bonaparte, or each Emperor his Desert." The original drawing (now reproduced) is in the collection of the writer, but the trend of events very

Fame, Honor, and Glory shall reward you
Death, or Victory !!
I wish I was safe home again
Dont fear that my dabbins see your safe home I have been waiting for you a long time

ALEXANDER AND BONAPARTE; OR, EACH EMPEROR HIS DESERTS

Original drawing by Isaac Cruikshank, 1805

likely prevented its being published. Napoleon says: "I wish I was safe home again." Alexander cries: "Death or Victory." An angel blowing a trumpet above him says: "Fame, Honor and Glory shall reward you." A Devil, pitchfork in hand, looks at Bonaparte, saying: "Don't fear that, my darling. I'll see you safe home. I have been waiting on you for a long time."

On August 2, the very day on which Napoleon set out for Boulogne to await the arrival of Villeneuve's fleet and the fate of England once more trembled in the balance, Humphrey published Gillray's "St. George and the Dragon. A design for an Equestrian Statue from the originals in Windsor Castle." It is stated to have been "drawn by an amateur" and etched only by Gillray. In this plate King George, of whom the likeness is excellent, is wearing the uniform of his own regiment, the Blues. He holds aloft a drawn sword, and boldly attacks a huge winged dragon, the head of which resembles Napoleon, his crown being cleft in two. Britannia is already in its clutches, her spear and shield—the latter bearing the Union Jack—having fallen to the ground.

On September 15 Thomas Tegg published from a design by Woodward, "Napoleon's Apotheosis Anticipated, or The Wise Men of Leipzic sending Boney to Heaven before his time."[1] This plate ridicules a compliment which the obsequious savants of Leipzic desired to

[1] In *Napoléon en Images*, p. 136, M. John Grand-Cartaret erroneously attributes this caricature to the year 1813. Woodward, whose name clearly appears on the plate as the artist, died in 1809, and it is not likely that the "wise men" of Leipzic would accord any honour to Napoleon after the discomfiture he experienced in Russia. The Emperor was constantly in communication with the authorities at Leipzic from 1803. A deputation from the University waited upon him at Berlin, Nov. 4, 1806.

pay to the Emperor, so soon to come to close quarters with Mack. Orion in the clouds, sword in hand, is drawing Napoleon up to him by means of his belt. The Emperor shrieks: "What are you about? I tell you I would rather stay where I was." A party of astronomers are looking upwards through their telescopes, one of them holding in his hand the resolution of the sages of Leipzic. Below the caricature are the words: "At the German University it was decreed that the constellation called *Orion's Belt* should henceforth be named Napoleon, in honour of that hero. *Query.* Did the wise men of Leipzic mean it as an honour or a reflection on the turbulent spirit of Boney, as the rising of Orion is generally accompanied with storm of tempests, for which reason he has a sword in his hand?"

Rowlandson's "The Departure from the Coast, or the End of the Farce of Invasion," was published by Ackermann, exactly three weeks before Trafalgar.

Some time during the fateful month of October—the month of Trafalgar and Ulm—Fores published Ansell's caricature, "Tom Thumb at Bay, or the Sovereigns of the Forest Roused at Last," which proved the artist to be an exceedingly bad prophet. The scene is supposed to occur on the coast of France, the British fleet off Dover cliffs being visible in the distance. In the foreground Napoleon finds himself threatened on one side by the British Lion and on the other by Austria, Russia, and Prussia portrayed as animals. In the background, a number of troops are seen carrying a flag lettered: "Co-estates (*sic*) ready to assist." The Emperor in terror, his crown and sceptre falling to the ground, cries: "Which way shall I escape? If I fly from the

"Which way shall I escape?
If I fly from the Bear and the Eagle
I fall into the jaws of the Lion."
Tom Thumb at Bay or the Sovereigns of the Forest Roused at last!!

By C. Ansell, October, 1805

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By C. Ansell, October, 1805

Bear and the Eagle I fall into the jaws of the Lion!" In the middle distance a Spaniard, a Dutchman, and a Swiss with yokes round their necks hold the following colloquy: *Spaniard:* "Why, mynheer, you have got your yoke off!" *Dutchman:* "Yaw, mynheer!" *Swiss:* "I think mynheer's right, and now's the time, Don, to get ours off!" Spain, Holland, and Switzerland had some time yet to wait for the hour of liberation.

The bad news from Ulm must have reached London very rapidly, for on November 6 Humphrey published Gillray's "The Surrender of Ulm, or Buonaparte and General Mack coming to a right understanding: intended as a specimen of French victories, *i.e.* Conquering without bloodshed." The caricaturist hints boldly at bribery. Bonaparte is sitting on a drum-head. His sword is in his right hand, pointing to the prostrate Field-Marshal Mack, whom he thus addresses: "There's your price. There's ten millions! Twenty! It is not in my army alone that my resources of conquering consist! I hate victory obtained by the effusion of blood!" Mack replies: "And so do I too! What signifies fighting when we can settle it in a safer way!!!" Mack is delivering up the "keys of Ulm" with his right hand, and his sword with the left. By Mack's side is placed a list of the articles to be delivered up: "1 Field Marshal, 8 Generals-in-Chief, 7 Lieutenant Generals, 36 thousand Soldiers, 80 Pieces of Cannon, 50 Stand of Colours, 100,000 Pounds of Powder, and 4000 cannon balls." Bonaparte points with his left hand to three soldiers bearing the stipulated bribe, ready to be paid. A flag is waving over the heads of the soldiers, inscribed, "La Victoire ou La Mort." In front of Bonaparte are

standard-bearers with flags, inscribed, "Vive Buonaparte;" "Vive l'Empereur Napoleon."[1] It was not till November 13 that Ackermann produced Rowlandson's "Napoleon Buonaparte in a Fever on receiving the Extraordinary Gazette of Nelson's Victory over the Combined Fleets." Six days later Fores published "Boney beating Mack and Nelson giving him a Whack, or The British Tars giving Boney his Heart's Desire—Ships, Colonies, and Commerce." This was the first anti-Napoleonic caricature of George Cruikshank, now a clever youth of sixteen. It was already evident that in him Gillray had a possible successor. In "Boney beating Mack" there is no trace of immaturity. To the extreme left we see an Austrian general kneeling before Napoleon, who, trampling on the sword of the vanquished, exclaims: "I want not your Forts, your Cities, nor your Territories, Sir; I only want Ships, Colonies and Commerce." Two messengers approach them in haste. One of them cries: "May it please your King's Majesty Emperor, that d—d Nelson take all your ships, 20 at a time. Begar, if you no come back directly, they vill not leave you von boat to go over in!" The other exclaims: "Run, *ma foi*. Anoder d—n Nelson take ever so many more ships!" On the other side of the Channel, Nelson is seen towing a number of captured ships towards the figure of Britannia, who welcomes him with outstretched arms. Four other prizes follow in the offing. Nelson says: "At thy feet, O Goddess of the Seas, I resign my life in the service of my Country."

[1] In this case the English caricaturist paid out the French satirists in their own coin, bribery being the accusation constantly levelled against Pitt by Napoleon's specific orders. *Vide* Dr. Holland Rose's Introductory Essay.

Anonymous caricature of November 20, 1805

pay to the Emperor, so soon to come to close quarters with Mack. Orion in the clouds, sword in hand, is drawing Napoleon up to him by means of his belt. The Emperor shrieks: "What are you about? I tell you I would rather stay where I was." A party of astronomers are looking upwards through their telescopes, one of them holding in his hand the resolution of the sages of Leipzic. Below the caricature are the words: "At the German University it was decreed that the constellation called *Orion's Belt* should henceforth be named Napoleon, in honour of that hero. *Query.* Did the wise men of Leipzic mean it as an honour or a reflection on the turbulent spirit of Boney, as the rising of Orion is generally accompanied with storm of tempests, for which reason he has a sword in his hand?"

Rowlandson's "The Departure from the Coast, or the End of the Farce of Invasion," was published by Ackermann, exactly three weeks before Trafalgar.

Some time during the fateful month of October—the month of Trafalgar and Ulm—Fores published Ansell's caricature, "Tom Thumb at Bay, or the Sovereigns of the Forest Roused at Last," which proved the artist to be an exceedingly bad prophet. The scene is supposed to occur on the coast of France, the British fleet off Dover cliffs being visible in the distance. In the foreground Napoleon finds himself threatened on one side by the British Lion and on the other by Austria, Russia, and Prussia portrayed as animals. In the background, a number of troops are seen carrying a flag lettered: "Co-estates (*sic*) ready to assist." The Emperor in terror, his crown and sceptre falling to the ground, cries: "Which way shall I escape? If I fly from the

"Whack away shall I strike
If I fly from the Boar and the Eagle
I fall into the jaws of the Lion"
Oh my Brother you have got your Tail off
Your Brother
I have the heart to right and make the Lion Bear it yet more off.
TOM THUMB at BAY or the Sovereigns of the Forest Roused at last!!

By C. Ansell, October, 1805

pay to the Emperor, so soon to come to close quarters with Mack. Orion in the clouds, sword in hand, is drawing Napoleon up to him by means of his belt. The Emperor shrieks: "What are you about? I tell you I would rather stay where I was." A party of astronomers are looking upwards through their telescopes, one of them holding in his hand the resolution of the sages of Leipzic. Below the caricature are the words: "At the German University it was decreed that the constellation called *Orion's Belt* should henceforth be named Napoleon, in honour of that hero. *Query*. Did the wise men of Leipzic mean it as an honour or a reflection on the turbulent spirit of Boney, as the rising of Orion is generally accompanied with storm of tempests, for which reason he has a sword in his hand?"

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CHAPTER XI

ENGLISH CARICATURES OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON PUBLISHED IN THE YEARS 1806 AND 1807

"Another year! another deadly blow!
Another mighty empire overthrown!
And we are left, or shall be left, alone;
The last that dare to struggle with the foe.
'Tis well! from this day forward we shall know
That in ourselves our safety must be sought;
That by our own right hands it must be wrought;
That we must stand unpropped, or be laid low."

—WORDSWORTH, November 1806.

"France is henceforth the arbitress of Europe. Civilisation would have perished in France if forth from the ruins there had not arisen one of those men before whom the world keeps silence, and to whom Providence seems to entrust His destinies."—*Gazette de France*, January 1806.

THE years 1806 and 1807 were in all probability the pleasantest of Napoleon's life, but they were overshadowed by certain capital errors which led to what Talleyrand called "the beginning of the end." The year 1806, which commenced so auspiciously at Malmaison, St. Cloud, and Marly, ended at Munich, where Napoleon rested after his signal triumph over the Prussians at Jena (October 14), which was followed by his visit to the tomb of Frederick the Great at Potsdam on October 28, and his solemn entry into Berlin on the following day. It was an act of insensate folly to rob the mausoleum of the hero of the Seven Years' War of

its most precious relics, but the Berlin decree of November 21, by which "Les Iles Britanniques sont déclarées en état de blocus. Tout commerce et toute correspondence avec les Iles Britanniques sont interdits," was the deed of a madman. The belief that "London was only a corner of the world," and the most complete ignorance as to the conditions of British commerce, induced Napoleon to adopt the Continental System—that ill-conceived plan of strangling the country of Pitt by her own wealth, which in the result conduced more to his ultimate downfall than either the Spanish Rising or the fatal march to Moscow,[1] when too late he must have realised the fallacy of his saying, "The sea must be subdued by the land," by which he sought to justify the decrees he launched against us, first from Berlin and then from Warsaw. In the first flush of the triumph of Tilsit he declared that he would permit no longer any commercial or political relations between the enslaved Continent and the British Isles. Before the Russian disaster overtook him and misfortune began to dog his footsteps, he probably discovered that the crushing of neutral nations between the upper and nether millstones of an impossible financial policy could have but one result.

In England the early days of 1806 brought with them the irreparable loss of her greatest statesman and the subsequent accession to power of the administration known alike to friend and foe as that of "All the Talents." William Wyndham, Lord Grenville, took the place of Pitt, with Fox as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, William Windham as Secretary for War, Henry Petty as

[1] See J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. ch. xxvi. pp. 103–108, and *Napoleonic Studies*, ch. v. pp. 166–204.

By Knight, April 15, 1806

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Earl Spencer at the Home Office, Sir Charles Grey at the Admiralty, and Erskine, Lord Chancellor.

Faces to which we have hitherto been unaccustomed will soon be seen in the kaleidoscope of pictorial satire. Fox died in September, when Grey, now Lord Howick, took his place at the Foreign Office. Napoleon was doubtless much surprised to find out that the presence of Mr. Fox in the Ministry did not ensure peace with France, as it might have done three years before.

Gillray was still at the zenith of his marvellous powers; and on January 26, 1806, Humphrey published his "Tiddy-doll, the great French Gingerbread Baker, drawing out a new batch of Kings; his man, 'Hopping Tally,' mixing up the dough." Curiously enough, this scathing satire on Napoleon's despotic methods appeared within a few hours of the death of Pitt. It is thus described by Mr. Wright:[1] "Buonaparte, represented as 'The great French Gingerbread Baker,' is drawing out of 'The New French Oven for Imperial Gingerbread,' a batch of Kings—'the Kings of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden.' 'The Ash-hole for Broken Gingerbread' contains Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, Holland, and Switzerland, swept in by the Corsican Besom of Destruction'; also Death's head wearing the Spanish Crown. A pile of cannon balls supplies fuel for feeding the fire of the Imperial oven. On the right of the print we see 'Little Dough Viceroys intended for the New Batch'; in these we recognise the portraits of Sheridan, Fox, Lord Moira, &c., with crowns on their heads; on the left is the 'Political Kneading Trough.' Talleyrand

[1] *Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, p. 256.

is busily employed in kneading the dough of Hungary, Turkey, and Poland. The Prussian eagle, with a crown on its head, is hovering over Hanover. A basket below contains 'True Corsican Kinglings for Home Consumption and Exportation.' Beside it is 'Hot Spiced Gingerbread, all hot! who dips in my Lucky Bag, &c.'"[1]

Before another week was over, Fox's appointment was an open secret and "Argus" designed the caricature "Boney and the great State Secretary" (Walker, February 1). We see Napoleon in the act of approaching his old friend "Citizen Volpone" with outstretched arms saying: "How do you do, Master Charles? Why, you are so fine I scarcely knew ye. Don't you remember me? Why, I am Little Boney, the Corsican—him that you came to see at Paris, and very civil I was to you, I'm sure. If you come my way I shall be glad to see you, so will my Wife and Family. They are a little changed in their dress, as well as you. We shall be very happy to take a little *peace soup* with you whenever you are inclined, Master Charley." To which Fox replies with clenched fists: "Why, you little Corsican reptile, how dare you come so near the person of the Rt. Honble. C. J. F., one of his M—— principal Secretaries of State; Member of the P—— C——. . . Go to see *you*, you arrogant little

[1] Tiddy-Doll was a celebrated itinerant vendor of gingerbread who lived in the reign of George II. and frequented all the fairs in and near London. His real name is unknown, but he was called Tiddy-Doll owing to the song he used to chant to his customers, being hardly anything else but Tiddy-doll-lol-lol. He wore a high cocked hat and feather, with broad scalloped gold lace upon it. This *original* had many copyists. He was of a very superior order of itinerant vendors; of a most respectable appearance, possessing a lively vein of wit and a genteel demeanour, the quantity of gingerbread he used to sell was incredible, by which he gained a comfortable livelihood. *Vide* J. Arnett, *The Lives and Portraits of Remarkable Characters*. London, 1820, vol. ii. p. 25.

ROAST BEEF. and FRENCH SOUP.
THE ENGLISH LAMB ... and The French Tiger.

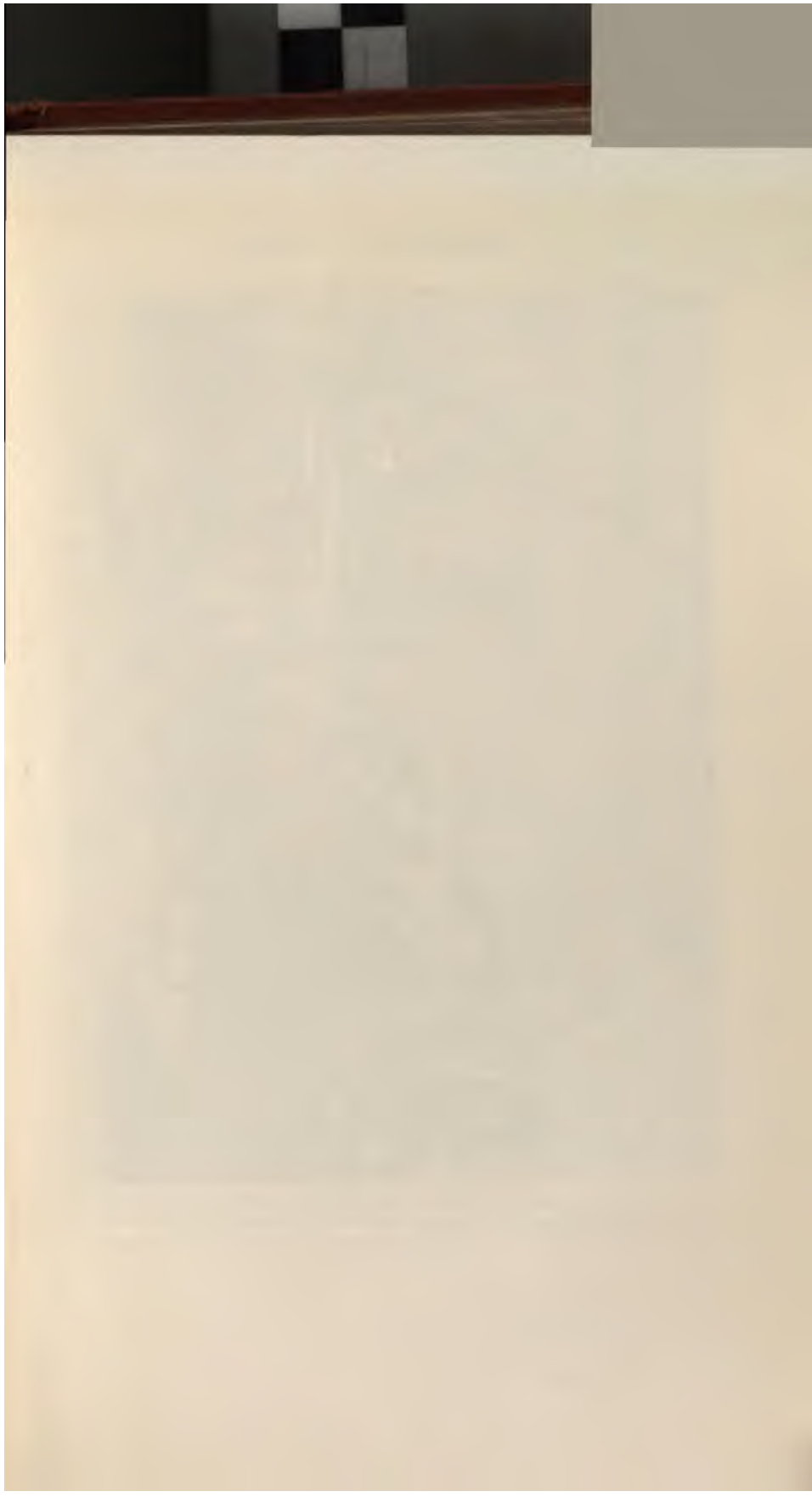
man. Mister Boney, if you do not instantly vanish from my sight I'll break every bone in your body. Learn to behave yourself in a *peaceable* manner, nor dare to set your foot on this happy land without *My leave.*"

The uncertainty which must have prevailed as to the action and attitude of the new Cabinet may account for the apparent absence of anti-Napoleonic caricatures during the last three weeks of February,[1] and the whole of March. It was not until April 5 that Humphrey published Gillray's pungent plate "Pacific Overtures, or A Flight from St. Cloud's 'over the water to Charley,'" which, like "L'Assemblée Nationale," gave much offence to the Court of St. James's. So grave was King George's displeasure that Gillray found it necessary to remove the figures of the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert, and substitute for them those of Lord and Lady Derby (*née* Elizabeth Farren). The Grenville administration evidently inclined to overtures of peace, but the extravagance of Napoleon's demands made their acceptance impossible. In this masterly cartoon the artist groups the whole of his *dramatis personæ* in a theatre, the Ministry of "All the Talents" occupying the orchestra. Lord Grenville, the first violin, is playing "Britons, Strike Home," and Fox (one of the other fiddlers), "God Save the King." In the centre of the stage stands Napoleon, sword in hand, pointing to the terms of peace inscribed on a scroll, which Talleyrand, whose deformed foot is, as usual, very much *en évidence*, unrolls for the inspection of George III., who (with his sword drawn) stands before a statue of Pitt, and gazes at them through his

[1] Pitt, who died on Jan. 23, was not buried until Feb. 22.

opera-glass. The conditions thus set forth are as follows: "Acknowledge me as Emperor; dismantle your fleet; abandon Malta and Gibraltar; renounce all Continental connection; your colonies I will take at a valuation; engage to pay to the Great Nation for seven years annually £1,000,000; and place in my hands as hostages the Princess Charlotte of Wales, with ten of the late Administration, whom I shall name." The King replies: "Very amusing terms indeed! and might do vastly well with some of the new-made little Gingerbread Kings, but WE are not in the habit of giving up either Ships, or Commerce, or Colonies, merely because little Boney is in a pet to have them." Pitt's hand rests on a column inscribed "Integrity," while on the base of the statue are the words "Non sibi sed Patri vixit"[1]—the legend on the badges of the various Pitt Clubs which now began to come into existence. Behind Talleyrand crouches the Irish agitator O'Connor, who says: "Remember, my friend, your oath. Our Politicks are the same." In his hand is a paper lettered "At Maidstone —Not Guilty. *N.B.*—My confederate Quigley only was hanged there." Behind Talleyrand stand the skeletons of the Army of England. At the back of the stage the good ship *Royal Sovereign* rides triumphantly at anchor. The stage-box, occupied in the early issues of the print by the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert, is tenanted in subsequent editions by Lord and Lady Derby. In the hand of the latter is a playbill announcing the performance of the farce of "Darby and Joan, or Dutch Joan a

[1] This motto is repeated on no less than nine of the medals of various Pitt Clubs in the writer's collection.



Come Johnny come in and be shaved, don't be frightened at the size of the Razor it cuts very clean I assure you.
By Goles so it seems and leaves a dent it might of gather whom'd as you and Mynheer can testify !!
Yaw Mynheer very close shaver, its like my doll when you are used to it
Nap. Bonny
Mon Ami Hollande
Wash Balls
The CONTINENTAL SHAVING SHOP

By "Argus," September, 1806

Duchess." [1] From a third tier box peep out the Duke of Clarence and Mrs. Jordan. Lord Henry Petty, in the orchestra, plays the "Little Jesuit's Jig" on the triangles, while Lord Moira interprets "See the Conquering Hero Comes" on the cornet, and Sheridan, oboe in hand, has gone to sleep over the Midwatch. The Lord Chancellor thumps the kettledrum with the mace. From the huge cornucopia, upon which the lame French Minister stands, pours forth a stream of coins and a number of purses destined for Horne Tooke, the *Morning Chronicle*, Thelwall, the *Weekly Register*, and so forth.[2] In the box above that of the Derbys are "Parson" Horne-Tooke and Burdett, who shout "Bravo" and "Bravissimo" in chorus. On the bill before the latter one reads: "The Brentford Bully—a New Song. Liberty and Equality. Down with all the Prisons."

"Bone and Flesh, or John Bull in Moderate Condition" (Walker, April 15, 1806), was engraved by Knight. It is the first of several caricatures in which the then slender Napoleon is made ridiculous by comparison with the English giant Daniel Lambert.[3] Approaching the abnormally corpulent Leicestershire yeoman, Napoleon says: "I contemplate the Wonder of the World, and regret that all my Conquered Domains cannot match this Man. Pray, sir, are you not a de-

[1] In the first edition the bill reads "Shortly will be performed the farce, 'Dolly made a Duchess,'" and Mrs. Fitzherbert's fan is decorated with the Prince of Wales's feathers in gold.

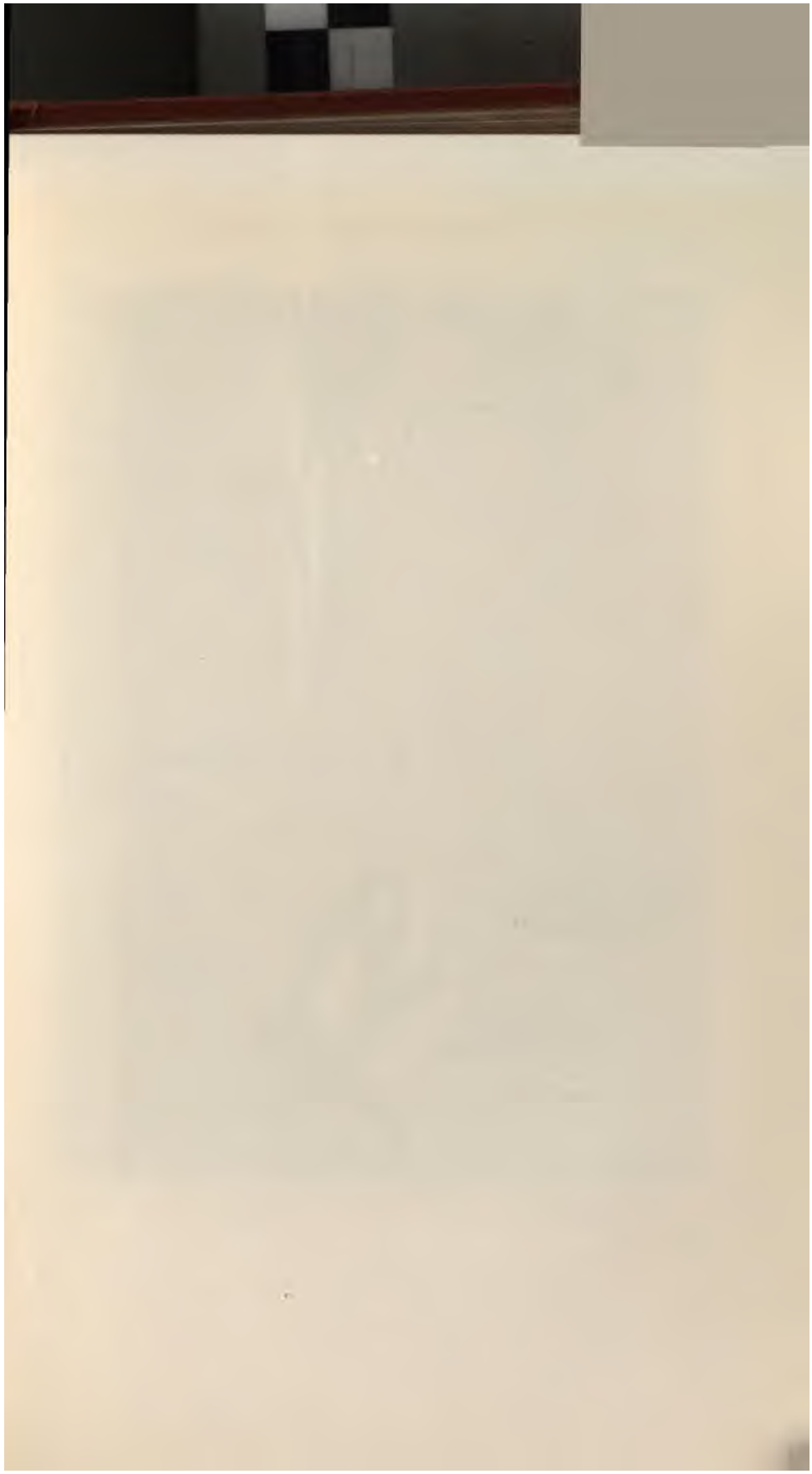
[2] Here again the accusations of bribery, indulged in so freely by "Little Boney," are returned with interest (see *ante*, ch. x. p. 219).

[3] Daniel Lambert (1770–1809), Keeper of Leicester Gaol, 1791–1805. In 1793 he weighed 32 stone. In the years 1806–7 he "received company daily in London." At his death he weighed 52¾ stone.

scendant from the great Joss of China?" Lambert answers: "No! Sir! I am a true-born Englishman from the County of Leicester, a quiet mind and a good constitution, nourished by the free air of Great Britain, makes every Englishman thrive." [1]

In "Comforts of a Bed of Roses. *Vide* Charlie's Elucidation of Lord Castlereagh's Speech, and nightly seen near Cleveland Row" (Humphrey, April 21), Gillray shows undeniably execrable taste, as the Foreign Minister was now very seriously ill. The broken slumbers of Fox are supposed to be interrupted by the vision of the French Emperor, who, while holding a drawn sword in one hand, grasps the collar of the sleeping statesman tightly with the other. Napoleon's right foot is planted on the bed, while the other rests on a cannon inscribed, "pour subjuguer le Monde." A fierce mastiff (John Bull) flies at the intruder. Pitt's ghost endeavours to rouse his old adversary, exclaiming, "Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen." Death grins horribly from beneath the bed, holding up to Fox's view with the sand almost run out an hour-glass, a scroll round his arm being inscribed "Intemperance, Dropsy, Dissolution." Across the bed lies a list of the "Broad-Bottom Administration," including Citizen Volpone (Fox), Lord Bogy (Grenville), Bett Armstead (Mrs. Fox), Doctor Clyster-pipe (Addington, now Lord Sidmouth), and Miss Petty (Lord H. Petty). Gillray undoubtedly took his idea from a speech of Lord Castlereagh, in which he spoke of the action of Pitt's Cabinet having placed their successors

[1] See also "The English Lamb and the French Tiger," p. 245, and "The Two Wonders of the World," p. 245.



Shiver my Timbers—there's a
go! Ah! ah! ah! ah! Why master
Boney you look like Neptune
Trying the Line. Suppose
we will be Blockading
the Moon!
I'll Blockade ye, ye English Scoundrel
'Tis you that are all my dangers 'Tis you
& you only who dare oppose my will
But I'll Blockade ye, & not one
of your rascally craft shall stir.

Boney for want of proper Sail. { Bonaparte Blockading John Bull. } By threats bombastic would prevail

By G. Sauley, December, 1806

on "a bed of roses"—a contention which Fox fiercely declined to accept.

Ansell is credited with a second Napoleon-Lambert print (Fores, April 1806), called "The English Lamb and the French Tiger," now reproduced in colours. At the top of the plate runs the legend "Roast Beef and French Soup." Below the former sits Daniel Lambert ("who at the age of thirty-six weighed more than fifty stone, &c."), engaged in cutting up a round of beef, by the side of which is a foaming pot of British stout. Napoleon, on an Empire settee, is partaking of a bowl of *soupe maigre*. On April 28 Humphrey published yet another Gillray caricature, "The Magnanimous Minister chastising Prussian Perfidy." On April 10, Frederick William had proclaimed himself King of Hanover, and on the 23rd of that month Fox brought down a message from the King announcing the fact and also that Prussian ports had been closed against British ships. Gillray must have worked very hard, and possibly "The Magnanimous Minister" may have taken the sting out of the "Comforts of a Bed of Roses" In the former, Fox (apparently quite recovered) tramples the Prussian sovereign's sword under foot, saying: "Oh, you Prussian marauder, you! What, I've caught you at last? What, you took me for a double-faced Talleyrand, did you? Did you think I was, like yourself, to look one way and row another? . . . Oh, you Frenchified Villain! I'll teach you to humbug my poor, dear Master, and to join with such rascals as Boney and O'Connor."

May opens with another Napoleon-Lambert caricature (Fores) entitled: "Two Wonders of the World

or A Specimen of a New Troupe of Leicestershire Light Horse." [1] This print is attributed, on the authority of the British Museum copy, to Ansell. Daniel Lambert, in the uniform of the Leicestershire Yeomanry Cavalry, is seen mounted on his famous horse *Monarch*, described "as the largest in the world," upwards of twenty-one hands high (above seven feet), and only five years old. The volunteer of over fifty stone, with his drawn sword, rides over Napoleon, who, dropping his hat and sabre, exclaims: "Parbleu, if dis be de specimen of de English Light Horse, vat vill de heavy horse be. Oh, by gur, I will put off de invasion for anoder time." It is evident that at the time when the obese Daniel was attracting thousands daily to see him in Piccadilly, the fear of invasion still troubled the public mind. Another caricature issued at this juncture by Fores, and known as "The Evacuation of Hanover, or The Prussian Eagle at Feed," cannot possibly be described. On July 21 Rowlandson published his own caricature, "Experiments at Dover, or Master Charley's Magic Lanthorn." In this print we see Fox seated on the seashore, projecting images on to the opposite coast. He is passing a series of slides through the lantern, the last displaying Bonaparte in the guise of a newsboy, horn in hand, shouting out: "Preliminaries of Peace." Rowlandson in this case was a bad prophet. Within two months Fox was dead, and durable peace only came to England nine years later with Waterloo. Other caricatures of August 1806, dealing with the same subject, are Woodward's "Boney and Tally patching up a piece (*sic*) for John Bull" (Ackermann, August 20), and "The Pleasing and In-

[1] Reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. p. 301.

THE BATTLE OF PUL-TUSK
Spring of 1807

structive Game of Messengers, or Summer Amusements for John Bull" (Walker, Cornhill). The last print is anonymous.

On the cliffs on one side of the Channel, Napoleon and Talleyrand, armed with battledores, are propelling a number of pigmy messengers with passports and credentials towards England, while from the other side the compliment is returned by Fox, Sheridan, and Lord Moira. Says the Emperor: "Begar, Tally, dis be very amusant. Keep it up as long as you can that we may have time for our project." Fox says, addressing John Bull, who looks on gloomily: "Is it not a pretty game, Johnny?" John Bull rejoins curtly: "Pretty enough as to that; they do fly about monstrous quick, to be sure, but you don't get any more money out of my pocket for all that." [1]

More important than either of these prints was Gillray's "Westminster Conscripts under the Training Act" [2] (Humphrey, September 1), ushering in the month, the end of which witnessed the commencement of Napoleon's campaign in Prussia and Poland. The object of the caricaturist was to enforce the idea that Fox and his friends were in reality anxious to conclude an ignominious peace. This plate relates to the pacific missions of Lords Yarmouth and Lauderdale in the autumn of 1806. Bonaparte is represented as a Drill Sergeant, who gives the order to ground arms. Talley-

[1] It is possible that Fox's negotiations were really more successful than any one at the time believed. He maintained a private correspondence with certain French statesmen almost to the last.

[2] A very long explanation of the political aspect of this clever caricature is given in *Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, pp. 276 and 280. See also J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. pp. 81–82.

"Holland starving and ripe for Revolt." A despatch-box on the floor is labelled "Cabinet de Lord Loderdale." From it have fallen packets inscribed "Negotiations for Peace," "Terms declared Inadmissible, C. J. Fox, &c., &c."

Isaac Cruikshank's caricature "Royal Amusements, or Nature will Prevail" (Tegg, September 6, 1806), refers to the king-making going on at Paris. An English peasant and his wife are discussing the political situation over a tankard of ale. The latter holds a newspaper in her hand. She says: "Why, this Bonny-part be making kings every day. I should not wonder if thee wast in France if he made a King of thee, John. What would thee do if thee wast a King?" John replies: "Do! why, I'd swing on a gate and eat fat bacon all day long."

On September 25 Napoleon left St. Cloud on his way to Germany. The obsequiousness of Frederick William failed to save him from the disasters which now fell both on his kingdom and himself. In "The Continental Shaving Shop," "Argus" endeavoured to humorously portray the state of European politics towards the end of this fateful month. Talleyrand is depicted as engaged in lathering the Grand Turk, whose beard Bonaparte has seized with one hand, while in the other he holds an enormous razor bearing the word "Conscription," and at his feet lies another razor labelled "For John Bull." On the wall is a bill bearing the inscription "Nap Boney, Shaver General to most of the Sovereigns of the Con-

[1] Below this caricature are the lines:—

"Boney beats Jimmy Wright,
Who shaves as well as any man, almost, not quite."

Jimmy Wright was a "champion shaver" who about this time frequented the London fairs.

By G. M. Woodward, January 27, 1827

tinent, shaves expediciously and clean, a few gashes excepted, is willing to undertake any new customer who is willing to submit to the above." The King of Prussia says: "I hope he don't mean to shave me as bad as he has you and my neighbour Austria there? I should not sit there so quietly with my face lathered." John Bull, who looks through a window, is invited by Austria to enter and submit to the operation. He replies: "By Goles, so it seems and leaves a dom'd sight of gashes behoind, as you and mynheer can testify." The faces of both Austria and Holland are badly gashed. This plate is reproduced as an illustration.[1]

On October 14 the Prussians sustained a signal defeat at Jena, but the news cannot have reached England when Walker published the elaborate and interesting caricature "Political Quadrille," which certainly merits description. Two parties of four each are engaged in a game of quadrille. At one table are seated George III., the King of Spain, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia. At the other Napoleon, the Emperor of Austria, the Pope, and Holland.

"*George III.* says: I never had any luck when the 'curse of Scotland'[2] was in my hand. However, I have

[1] For other instances of the employment of shaving as a theme of Napoleonic caricature, see Appendices A, D, and E.

[2] The nine of diamonds. Dr. Brewer says the two most plausible explanations of the expression are (1) This card in the game of *Pope Joan* is called the "Pope," the anti-Christ of the Scotch Reformers; (2) in the game of *comette*, introduced by Queen Mary, it is the great winning card, and the game was the curse of Scotland because it was the ruin of so many families. It is also said that after Culloden the Duke of Cumberland wrote a cruel order on the back of this card, but it is pointed out that in 1715 Justice-Clerk Ormistone was nicknamed "The Nine of Diamonds."

now discarded it. Ay, this will do! I have now a strong suit without a knave amongst them.

King of Prussia: "Shall I play or not? If I play I fear I shall be beasted (*sic*), and, if not, they will call me Prussian Cake."

King of Spain: "I was obliged to play, tho' it was a *forced spadillo.* My Queen deceived me, but, however, I must not now give myself *aires*, as I have lost all my dollars."

Emperor of Russia: "I have never had such luck since I have been a Russian. Completely beasted (*sic*) off the board. But that I must endeavour to forget and try to play better in future."

At the other table the following colloquy takes place:—

Napoleon: "I begin to fancy I can play alone. No—I can call a King when I please. I am strong in my suits, besides, I know how to *finesse* my cards."

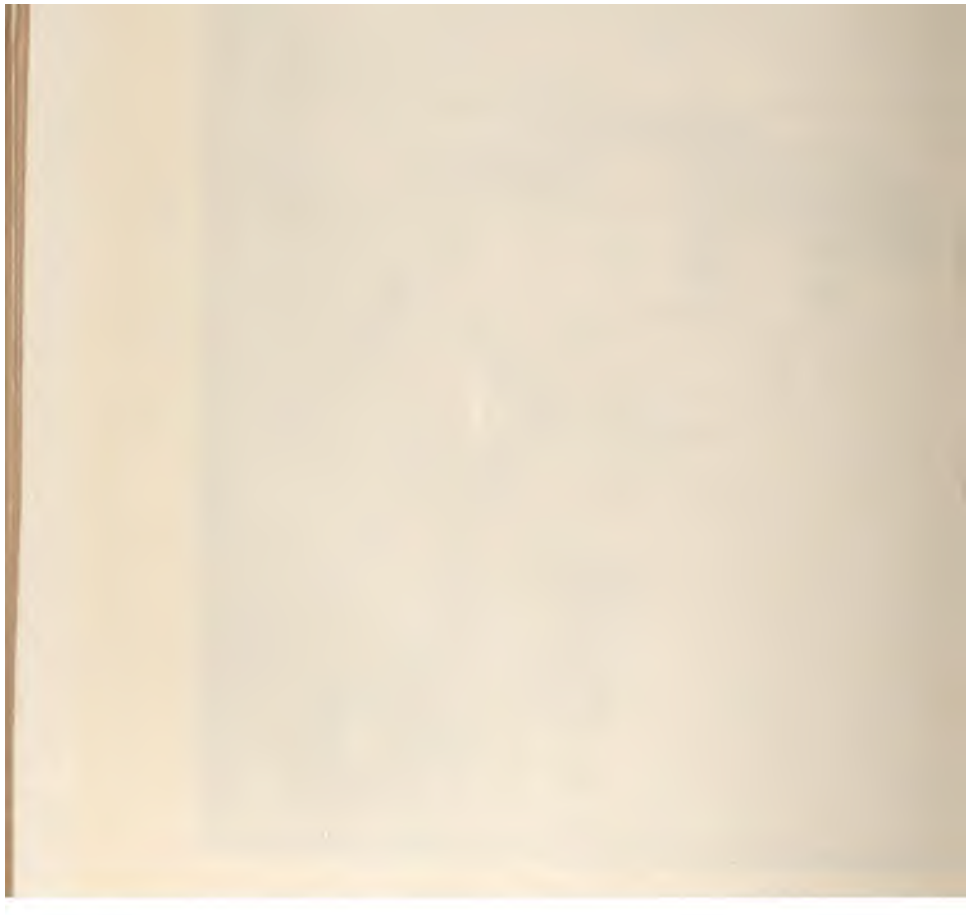
Emperor of Austria: "For the present I fear the game is up with me, so I pass."

The Pope: "I fear it is nearly over with poor Ponto."

The Dutchman: "I have got a King without calling one; but I have no *Trump* now and I fear I shall lose all my fish."

Before the next caricature appeared poor Prussia was certainly badly "beasted." Not only had Napoleon entered Berlin at the head of his troops, but the sword and other mementoes of Frederick the Great had actually arrived in Paris. In one or two Gillray caricatures published a little later by Humphrey ("The High-Flying Candidate mounting from a Blanket" (November 11), and "Posting to the

THE POLITICAL COCK-HORSE
By G. Sawley, March 10 1807



Election" (December 1), the appearance of Bonaparte is merely incidental, but in G. Sauley's "Bonaparte blockading John Bull" (Ackermann, December 1806), we get the first fruits, from a pictorial point of view, of the Berlin decree of November 21. On either side of the title are the lines:—

> "Boney, for want of proper sail,
> By threats bombastic would prevail."

Sailing in an inverted cocked hat the Emperor points a pistol at John Bull, who dances defiantly on a rock, close to which the British fleet rides at anchor. The following exchange of compliments takes place between them:—

Bonaparte (at the stern of whose cockle-shell the tricolour is flying) says:—

"I'll blockade ye, ye English Scoundrel. 'Tis you thwart all my designs. 'Tis you and you only who dare oppose my will. But I'll blockade ye, and not one of your rascally craft shall stir."

To which John Bull mockingly rejoins:—

"Shiver my Timbers, there's a go! Ah! ah! ah! Why, Master Boney, you look like Neptune crossing the line. I suppose you will next be blockading the Moon."

Ansell's "Jack Tars conversing with Boney on the Blockade of Old England" (Walker) follows the same lines. Napoleon, standing in a fort, brandishes a sword lettered "The Terror of the Continent." Two British sailors in a boat laugh at him defiantly, while John Bull, looking on from the shore, seems vastly amused. In the days which followed Jena, Napoleon had evidently not

forgotten the efficacy of caricature. He had recourse once more to his well-worn theme of British bribery, and all Paris laughed at a satirical print of Lord Morpeth,[1] running away in hot haste from the neighbourhood of Jena, leaving a stream of gold behind him to mark the course of his flight, and crying, "I must not be taken." From his coat-pocket protrudes packets lettered "Proposals for Subsidies," and "Projects of Coalition." Below is the following inscription in French, "The English envoy accredited to the Prussian Ministry was only six leagues away from the field of battle. He paid sixty guineas for a horse, on which he effected his escape. See in the 18th Bulletin."

During his stay at Berlin Napoleon decreed the deposition of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel, who was promptly made, like the fugitive Morpeth, the subject of one of the caricatures which adorned Martinet's shop-window in the Rue du Coq.[2]

If the year 1806 ended gloomily for England, there is a note of sturdy defiance in the first caricature of 1807, "John Bull playing on the Base Villain" (Tegg). John Bull, with his wig on the ground, holds Napoleon by the neck, like a base viol, and with his sword or bow plays on him the tune, "Britons, strike home."

The victory of Pultusk had been won by Lannes on December 26, 1806, and quite early in the new year there appeared in London the caricature, now reproduced, called facetiously the "Battle of Pul—Tusk." The Russians are depicted as bears led by a general in

[1] George, 6th Earl of Carlisle (1773–1842); at this time he had been married for five years to Georgiana, eldest daughter of the 5th Duke of Devonshire. See Appendix D, 211.

[2] Appendix D, 269.

My Dear Brother—receive
this Fraternal Embrace
out of pure affection!
Zounds Brother you'll squeeze me to death
besides I feel my side of the raft is sinking
very fast
What a Prujean Baby I was to take
to him I am afraid I shall
THE IMPERIAL EMBRACE on the Raft or Boney's New Drop.

By Charles Ansell, July, 1807

a tub labelled, "Spirited Benn—in—Gin."[1] A sign-post denotes the "Bug-water." The Poles on the French side are represented by heads on sticks. The leader of the apes (Napoleon) says: "I am determined to beat those brutes, in spite of their teeth."

None of the caricatures of the early part of 1807 reflect Napoleon's presence in Warsaw, or the march of events which led to the victory of Friedland (June 14). Gillray prefers to grapple with the political complications at home, and on January 5 Humphrey published his "Political Mathematicians shaking the Broad-Bottomed Hemispheres," in which he depicts the little Emperor as looking on through a telescope from an eminence, and saying, "Oh! by Gar! if I could but once put my foot upon the lever, I'd give their Broad Bottoms a shake with a vengeance ! ! !" Britannia is weeping over a broken statue of Pitt, the pedestal of which bears the inscription, "The Pilot that weathered the storm."

The pinch of the Berlin Decrees was now making itself felt. On January 27 Tegg published a clever caricature by Woodward entitled, "The Giant Commerce overwhelming the Pigmy Blockade." The figure of the giant is composed of export goods, such as wool (the stomach), leather (the legs), the feet (Staffordshire shoes), the arms (printed calico), the hands (Woodstock gloves), and the face (porcelain). In one hand he holds a bar of Birmingham steel, while with the other he throws across the sea towards Bonaparte, behind a fortress, bars of pig-iron and block-tin, barrels of London porter and Maidstone gin, patent coffins, cutlery, and Birmingham

[1] The Russian commander was Count Bennigsen. Napoleon did not take part in this engagement.

fought in Europe since Malplaquet." About 25,000 were rendered *hors de combat* on each side, "but as Bennigsen lacked tents, supplies, and, above all, the dauntless courage of Napoleon, he speedily fell back, and thus enabled the Emperor to claim a decisive victory." A little later Walker produced Ansell's caricature, "Boney and his Army in Winter Quarters." In this instance the artist also portrays Bonaparte as helpless in the tight embrace of the Russian Bear, while Talleyrand concocts misleading bulletins. On June 25 (just eleven days after Napoleon's great victory known to history as that of Friedland), Gillray's caricature, "The New Dynasty; or, The Little Corsican Gardener planting a Royal Pippin Tree," was published by Humphrey. In March 1807 the "Talents" (with Gillray they were always the Broad-Bottoms) had come to grief over the stumbling-block of Catholic Emancipation, and the Duke of Portland now reigned in the place of Lord Grenville, with George Canning as Foreign Minister. In the "New Dynasty" Gillray chastises his old foes, but, at the same time, he administers a reproof to Napoleon, whom he sketches in the act of preparing to plant the "Royal Pippin Tree," for which Talleyrand has just dug a hole. William, the Norman Robber, forms the root of the tree, and by a real stroke of genius Gillray crowned it with the head of Lord Moira, who claimed descent from the Irish kings of Ballynahinch.

Within five days of his great triumph Napoleon arrived at Tilsit, where, on June 25, he had an interview on a gorgeously decorated raft anchored in mid-stream with the Emperor Alexander. On the following day

you must know Mr Bull, I set out with an intention of conquering the whole World, in which I have partly succeeded, but there are so many cracks and fissures that want filling up, that it will be impossible for me to do it unless you will permit me to have access to your little Cabinet there, and then Johnny we shall be on the most friendly terms imaginable.
I'll see you D__ it first
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
DOMINION of the SEAS
CAPE of GOOD HOPE
GIBRALTER
EAST INDIES
WEST INDIES
MALTA
Danish Fleet
JOHN BULLS CABINET

THE MODERN ATLAS asking a favor of JOHN BULL.

By Charles Ansell, September, 1807

buttons. Behind the monster rides at anchor the commercial navy of England. The following dialogue is supposed to take place.

Giant: "Blockade my country, indeed. I'll show you the Power of Commerce! take that and that, and then to breakfast with what appetite you may."

Bonaparte: "Pray, Mr. Commerce, don't overwhelm me and I will take off the general blockade of Old England."

The humour of the situation in Poland was soon appreciated in this country, and before the end of January Walker published G. Sauley's "The Entrance into Poland, or Another Bonne Bouche for Boney." The Emperor advances towards a deputation of obsequious Poles, who exclaim: "What a happy day for Poland!" Their leader kisses the boot of the Emperor effusively. Napoleon says: "Rise up, free and independent Polanders. Depend upon it you shave (shall have?) *a King*, and I'll be *Vice-roy over him*." Behind the Emperor is carried a banner inscribed, "Comfort for the Poles," with pictures of a guillotine, crossed swords, and manacles. A military attendant, opening a bag, discloses a large supply of handcuffs.

George Sauley was also the author of "Bonaparte regenerating the Kingdom of Poland. A scene from nature, December 28, 1806" (Ackermann, February 1). Sitting on a rock Napoleon is depicted in the act of dividing the world. On the face of the stone are cut the prophetic words:—

> "Whoever will create Domain
> And airy Castles in the Brain,
> Must soon or late expect to find
> Dominion vanish into Wind.

Thus Boney, fond of making Kings,
Will find that Sceptres, too, have Wings,
And he, the Great and Mighty Maker,
May serve his own as Undertaker."

He thus addresses the officers who stand around him :—

"Alas! alas! my friends, do not abandon me in this dreadful extremity to be devoured by these *Russian Bears*. Only wait with patience, you shall all have a part, and here is the Kingdom of Poland for him that saves my life." One of the generals says: "We are in a pretty mud; Master Boney, you had better not make any rash vows." Another asks: "And, pray, most potent Emperor, for whom do you design Russia?"

"The Political Cock Horse" (Ackermann, March 10), now reproduced, is also the work of Sauley. Napoleon is depicted as falling from a half-starved white horse which has come to grief over a rock marked "Insuitable (*sic*) Ambition." General Bennigsen has sprung upon the quarters of the horse, and, threatening the French Emperor with a sword, says: "You bombastic scoundrel, robber, murderer, violator, incendiary, you thought of reigning with your Iron Crown (over) the North as well as the South, but know, Tyrant, that the Sons of the North are to be your superiors." John Bull stands in the corner with papers lettered "Defeat of the French" in his pocket. He shouts, "Bravo, Russians! A Home stroke more and good-bye to Master Boney!" Alas! the dreams of Bennigsen were soon to be dissipated at Friedland. False news as to the result of the battle of Eylau (February 8) must have reached England. Dr. Holland Rose[1] describes it as "the bloodiest battle

[1] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. pp. 111–14.

picking up the pieces of a shattered Prussian cake. On Napoleon's fork is a morsel marked "Continental slices," while before him are Austerlitz biscuits, Eylau custard, and Friedland pie, the last of which he is about to carve with his sword, saying to Alexander: "My dear Brother, don't you eat! What is the matter with you? See what a hearty meal our other beloved Cousin and Brother is making from the crumbs that fall from the table." The Tsar replies: "How the deuce am I to eat, when you keep everything to yourself?" Ansell is also credited with the print "Mutual Honours at Tilsit, or The Monkey, the Bear, and the Eagle" (Walker, August 1807). Napoleon, the monkey, is seated on a drum wearing an oval medallion inscribed "Order of St. Andrew to our faithful Judge." By the side of the drum lie a formidable pair of revolutionary shears, and the Treaty of Alliance kept down by three cannon balls. Napoleon is placing round the neck of a huge bear wearing a foolscap a tricolour ribbon, to which is attached the Legion of Honour, lettered "To our trusty and beloved cousin, Fudge." The bear also wears a heavy iron "collar of independence." The Prussian eagle has already been invested with the same distinction, but in the process it has lost one of its heads, half its sceptre, and nearly the whole of its crown. The following conversation is supposed to take place:—

Prussia to Russia: "You never looked so well in your life; you cannot think how the cap and bells become you.

Russia replies: "I shall really be ashamed to return to my own fraternity. I wonder what my old friend the Lion will say.

Prussia soliloquises: "It is certainly very fine; but what with having one of my hands chopped off, and the crown half cracked of the other, besides having my wings cropped, I think somehow I was better off before."

Other caricatures on the same subject are entitled "Britannia in Tribulation for the loss of her Allies," and "The Polish Pie, or The Effects of the Peace at Tilsit." In September a clever anonymous caricature, published by Walker, deals further with the consequences of the Berlin and Warsaw Decrees. It was known as "The Modern Atlas asking a favour of John Bull," and is reproduced as an illustration. Napoleon, carrying the World on his back, approaches John Bull, who is sitting before an open strong-box surmounted by the Royal arms and filled with drawers labelled, "Dominion of the Seas," "Malta," "Ammunition," "Danish Fleet," &c., says: "You must know, Mr. Bull, I set out with the intention of conquering the whole world, in which I have partly succeeded, but there are so many cracks and fissures that want filling up; but it will be impossible to do it without you let me have access to your little cabinet there, and then we shall be on the best of terms." John Bull says curtly, "I'll see you damned first."

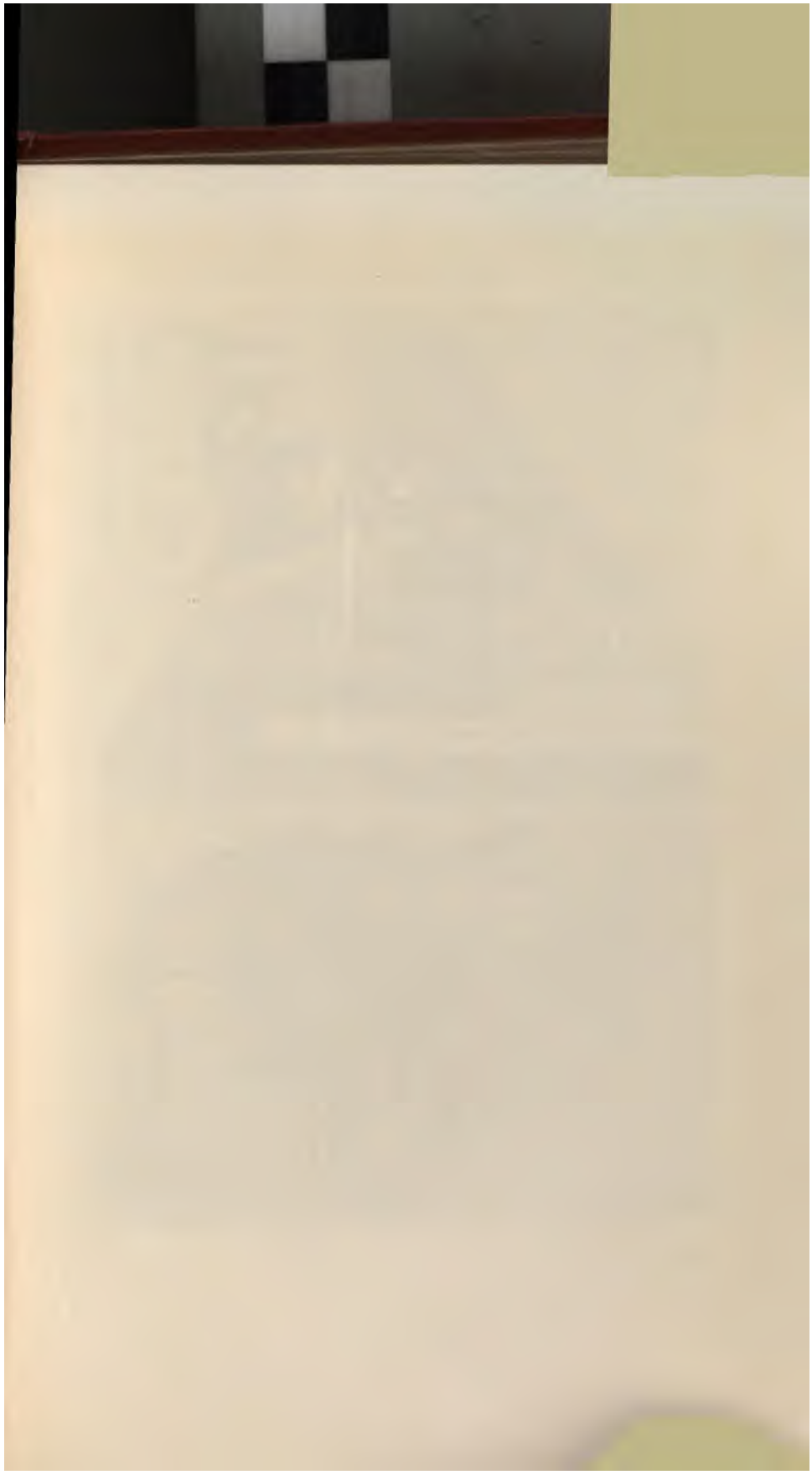
To this period belongs the curious unfinished Gillray caricature in the collection of the writer entitled (according to notes in the artist's handwriting), "A Monument of Princely Truth and Honour." On one side we see the Czar ("Alexander the Great") and the King of Prussia kneeling before an altar on which stands a bust of Frederick the Great, and swearing with uplifted swords "eternal enmity to the Corsican Butcher"; on the other the two potentates are depicted as grovelling

before Napoleon, seated on a throne. Gillray supplies the following suggestive note, " Alexander the Great and his Prussian Friend becoming *footstools* to the Corsican Butcher."

In consequence of Napoleon's designs on Denmark with a view to making the Baltic a *mare clausum*, prompt action on the part of England became necessary. Our proposals being rejected, Copenhagen was bombarded by our troops, and on September 7 the defenders of the city capitulated. Six weeks later our forces sailed away with the whole Danish fleet, but without the alliance Canning keenly desired. On October 1 Humphrey published a caricature by Gillray on the subject entitled " British Tars towing the Danish Fleet into Harbour: the Broad-Bottom Leviathan trying Billy's Old Boat, and the little Corsican tottering on the Clouds of Ambition." Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh are rowing the " Billy Pitt." Canning, seated at the prow, is towing the Danish Fleet into the harbour of Sheerness. Dislike to the expedition is shown by Lords Howick,[1] St. Vincent, and Grenville. John Bull, however, seated before his door, holds a pot of porter in one hand, while he waves his hat with the other, shouting, " Rule, Britannia!" Bonaparte is seen in the clouds horror-struck at the loss of the Danish Fleet. His project for obtaining the sovereignty of the sea falls from his hands.

On the same day Tegg published Woodward's " A Political Fair," in which the European situation is amusingly reviewed. Napoleon presides over a booth at which " Boney's Imperial Gingerbread " is dispensed.

[1] It must be remembered that Canning had now replaced Lord Howick as Foreign Secretary.



BLOCKADE against BLOCKADE or John Bull a Match for Boney

By Charles Ansell. November 1803

In front of it stands the Emperor, before two rows of crowned manikins. He has just sold a King to the Dutch, who are not over-pleased with their purchase; but Napoleon tells them that "no goods are ever changed after they are once taken out of the shop." A brisk trade is being done in hot Prussian cake, German sausages, and German *sauerkraut* with French sauce. A political roundabout is also being largely patronised.

The designs of Russia on Turkey after the conclusion of the Treaty of Tilsit are ridiculed in a clever anonymous caricature published by Tegg (October 1807). The unfortunate Turkey, menaced by the Bear, in spite of the remonstrance of the Monkey (Napoleon), cries piteously: "Don't be so boisterous; I am moulting my feathers very fast, I assure you." The process is still going on (1910). It was not till October 16 that Fores brought out Isaac Cruikshank's fine caricature, "Gulliver towing the Fleet to Lilliput." [1]

Admiral Gambier swims towards a tower, on which stands George III. with a spy-glass. He holds in his mouth the cables of a fleet of ships which he is towing towards the King. The English flag is hoisted on a fort on the coast of Zealand. In the distance are seen Napoleon, Talleyrand, and some of the Allies. *King George* says: "What, what, Gambier! [the word is erased; *Gulliver 2nd* is substituted] He, Gulliver 2nd! More Nelsons—More Nelsons—Brave fellows!" Napoleon in a towering passion shouts, "Curse that fellow! Here, Tally, stop him! What! will nobody stop him?

[1] On the copy of the print in the writer's collection a note is made by George Cruikshank that the coast was "put in" by him. In some plates the words "Admiral Gambier bringing the whole Danish fleet to England" are added to the title.

CHAPTER XII

ENGLISH NAPOLEONIC CARICATURES OF THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808–1814

"I embarked very badly on the Spanish affair, I confess; the immorality of it was too patent, the injustice too cynical, and the whole thing wears an ugly look since I have fallen; for the attempt is only seen in its hideous nakedness, deprived of all majesty and of the many benefits which completed my intention."—*Napoleon at St. Helena.*

"And must they fall? the young, the proud, the brave,
To swell one bloated Chief's unwholesome reign?
No step between submission and a grave?
The rise of rapine and the fall of Spain?
And doth the Power that man adores ordain
Their doom, nor heed the suppliant's appeal?
Is all that desperate valour acts in vain?
And counsel sage, and patriotic zeal,
The veteran's skill, youth's fire, and manhood's heart of steel."
—BYRON, *Childe Harold*, Canto I. Stanza 53.

THE story of the Peninsular War is dealt with by Dr. Holland Rose in two chapters,[1] but the biographer is compelled to omit many details as not strictly relating to the life of Napoleon, who was, however, undeniably responsible for all that happened in Spain between the spring of 1808 and that of 1814. In dealing with Napoleon in caricature the difficulty is almost insurmountable, for the direct allusion to the absent Emperor is often wanting, although his all-pervading personality

[1] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. ch. xxvii., "The Spanish Rising," pp. 159–74; ch. xxxiv., "Vittoria and the Armistice," pp. 300–29.

By Charles Ansell, January 12, 1808

has evidently afforded inspiration to the artist, and although the apparent object of attack is the *roi fainéant* Charles, the almost equally weak Ferdinand, the well-meaning usurper Joseph, and the different Marshals against whom Wellington contended in his hard-fought battles.

Many of the English prints published during these six eventful years not only obtained wide circulation throughout the Peninsula,[1] but suggested ideas to the one or two Spanish caricaturists who sought to stimulate the courage of the patriots.

There are certain dates and occurrences which it will be well to remember in connection with this particular series of Napoleonic caricatures. On April 14, 1808, the Emperor arrived at Bayonne in person. On April 20 the Prince of the Asturias came there to see him, and on the last day of the month, King Charles IV. and Queen Maria Luisa were his guests at his official residence. The greater part of May and June were spent by Napoleon at the Château de Marrac. It was at Bordeaux on August 2 that he received the news of the surrender of General Dupont at Baylen. On July 7 the Spanish Junta accepted the constitution proposed by Joseph Bonaparte, now promoted by his brother from the throne of Naples to that of Spain.

In November (1808) Napoleon was again at Bordeaux, this time on his way to Madrid, before the gates of which he arrived on his lucky day—December 2. Two days later Madrid capitulated. On December 9 he entered the Spanish capital for the first time. Before he returned to Bayonne, on January 19, he visited Valderas,

[1] See ch. xxiii. *post.*

the royal greyhounds of Spain, but is held at bay by the patriot dogs. A Dutch frog with a pipe in its mouth croaks, "It will be my turn to have a slap at him next." John Bull, perched on a cliff, levels a gun at him, saying, "Damn me, but we will manage him amongst us"; while in the background the Russian bear, chained to the Austrian eagle, whispers: "Now, Brother Bruin, now is the time to break our chains!"

Only two days later (July 10), Ackermann published another caricature on the same subject by Rowlandson, "Billingsgate at Bayonne, or The Imperial Dinner." Napoleon seated on his throne surveys the disunited royal family of Spain at table. Queen Maria Luisa says to her son: "Now, you villain, I'll tell you to your face and before my dear friend Boney, you are no child of the King's, so you may shut up shop." To which Ferdinand replies: "Madam, I know all your tricks and all the tricks of your Prince of the Peace." The imbecile King, violin in hand, merely observes: "I wish they would let a poor old King play quietly on his fiddle!" On the same day Fores published anonymously the caricature, "The Spanish Bull-Fight, or The Corsican Matador in Danger."[1] In this print the Sovereigns of Europe are seated round an arena inscribed "Theatre Royale de l'Europe." Before the Pope is spread out the bull for excommunicating the Corsican Usurper. To the right lie, wounded and bleeding, the Prussian, Dutch, and Danish bulls. The Spanish bull, having broken its Corsican chain, tramples Joseph Bonaparte under foot,

[1] On the previous day (July 9) Joseph had set out from the Château de Marrac for his capital, Napoleon accompanying him on the first stage of his journey.

while it tosses Napoleon in the air, wounding him severely. From the Emperor's hands falls a scroll of paper inscribed, "Plan pour assujettir le monde."

Next day Humphrey published a similar plate with the same title, also by Gillray. At the top of both caricatures are printed the following words: "The Spanish Bull is so remarkable for spirit that unless the matador strikes him dead at the first blow, the bull is sure to kill him. Vide *Barratt's Travels*." This coincidence must have caused some perplexity both in St. James's Street and Piccadilly. The only possible explanation is that Gillray etched the plate for one of his employers and had given his drawing to another, and that in spite of his agreement to work exclusively for Humphrey. It was one of those lapses from the path of rectitude which resulted from the intemperate habits in which he indulged with fatal results.

Woodward designed and Rowlandson etched the caricature, "The Corsican Nurse soothing the Infants of Spain" (Tegg, July 12). Napoleon dandles on either knee the infants Carlos and Antonio, while the "good old King" and his amiable consort have been lulled to sleep in an imperial cradle. The Emperor rocks with his foot the cradle of the Prince of the Asturias. By way of a lullaby he is singing "Hushabye, hushabye, you shall have your crowns again, but I don't know when." George Cruikshank's caricature, "Spanish Patriots entring (*sic*) Madrid, or The Grand Duke of Berg's Retreat Discovered," was published by Fores on July 14.[1] On

[1] What actually happened must have been anticipated by the caricaturist, as the surrender of Baylen did not take place till July 19, and King Joseph did not quit Madrid till ten days later.

July 19, the very day on which the surrender of Dupont at Baylen occurred, Ackermann published a caricature, on which both Isaac and George Cruikshank worked, entitled, "The Disappointed King of Spain, or The Downfall of the Mucheron (fly) King Joe Bonaparte, late pettifogging attorney's clerk. Between two stools the breech comes to the ground." Between two stools, lettered "Naples" and "Spain" respectively, sits Joseph Bonaparte in full Spanish costume; raising his hands in despair he cries: "Oh, Napy, Napy, begar, you have made me lose both de crowns." A winged crown is flying in the direction of Sicily, while another, bound for Spain, is labelled Ferdinand VII. A British tar looking on says grimly: "Your crowns, you lubber, you had better sheer off quickly, or you will lose your *head!*"

On July 20, Fores published George Cruikshank's "The Noble Spaniards, or Britannia assisting the Cause of Freedom all over the World, whether Friends of Foes." A British officer is leading a Spanish corps in Spain. In his hand is a banner lettered "Ferdinand VII., Liberty or Death." A cat is chasing a number of rats wearing tricolour cockades, crying: "*Mew-rat, Mew-rat,* I'll Mew-rat them!" One of the Spaniards says: "A gallant Spaniard will never submit to be governed by the brother of a monkey." In the left-hand top corner Britannia is seen showering upon Spain guns and ammunition of all sorts fron a cornucopia, saying: "The Nation that has spirit to throw off the yoke of the Tyrant of France is that moment an ally of Great Britain." The caricature, "Ghosts of the Old Kings of Spain appealing to their Degenerate Posterity," by an anonymous artist

(Walker, July 1808), deals with the same subject as those already described. The plate "Brobdignags of Bayonne peeping over the Pyrenean Mountains at the Lilliputian Spanish Army," probably by Woodward, was published by Tegg after the intelligence of the Baylen disaster had reached Napoleon at Bordeaux. The Emperor and his affrighted brother, arrayed in his royal robes, are peeping from behind a mountain at the fighting going on in Spain. Napoleon says: "Mercy on me, who would have thought it from such a set of lilliputians. Why, they are playing the devil with our Brobdignag army." Joseph, in his crown, ruff, and ermine, replies: "I say, Nap, you may as well put my crown in your pocket, for you shall not catch me amongst such murderous-looking fellows."

Three weeks after King Joseph had precipitately quitted his new capital, Tegg published, on August 21, a caricature, "King Joe's retreat from Madrid," which Rowlandson engraved from Woodward's design. The King and his brother are seen preparing hastily for their departure. The Spanish troops shout: "Stop the thieves, they have stolen the plate from the palace." King Joseph cries: "Brother Nap, brother Nap, why don't you stop? the Philistines are pursuing us." Napoleon cries from the interior of a coach: "I can't, brother Joe; I'm in a great hurry myself."

"Horrid Visions, or Nappy Napp'd at Last" (Tegg, August 23), was produced by the same combination of artistic talent. In the centre of the print Napoleon is depicted with his hair standing on end, his sword drawn, his hat falling to the ground. He exclaims: "What is all this I see and hear; behind me British Thunder and

a Spanish whirlwind; before me the Austrian Eagle breaking from his cage, and the Northern Bear arousing from his lethargy; in the background is a cloud of evils and hark, the frogs croak in the Dutch marshes. What will become of me?" All the foregoing is represented by figures in the background, and "King Joe" is seen hopelessly entangled in a Spanish whirlwind. "The Oven on Fire, or Boney's Last Batch entirely Spoilt," by Isaac Cruikshank, was published by Fores on August 24. To the right is an enormous furnace from which come flames inscribed "Asturian Legions," "Catalonian Army," "Army of Galicia," "Army of Granada." In the middle of the flames is the device "A people united can never be conquered." On a stand close by are a number of crowned manikins. In the centre kneels Napoleon in uniform with a baker's apron and a long shovel ("peel") in which he has tried to push his brother Joseph into the oven. Joseph screams: "Oh, Nap! Nap! what is this? instead of a King you've only made me a Dup—ont!" In terror the Emperor lets the shovel drop on his knee, and, throwing up his arms, he exclaims: "Zounds, I shall be overwhelmed with the cursed patriotic blaze. I did not think there was a single spark left, but I find there is more than all the Engines of France can extinguish." Two or three manikins lie on the ground at the other end of the shovel. In the background, Talleyrand, also clad in an apron, leans against a chest lettered "State Prison," from which protrude the heads and shoulders of the Spanish captives. Says Talleyrand: "Ay, ay, I told you that you would burn your fingers at that batch of gingerbread, but I have nothing to do with it.

Merry on me who could have thought it from such a set of Sycophants, why they are playing the Devil with our Bridging Army!!!
I say Nap. you may as well put my Crown in your pocket, for you shall not catch me among such rascals
Looking father

BROBDIGNAGS of BAYONNE peeping over the Pyrenean Mountains at the Lilliputian SPANISH ARMY

By G. M. Woodward, August 3, 1808

I am only a *jailer*. So there is an end of all my glory!" [1]

Ansell's "Political Quadrille—the game up" (Walker, August 1808) is a sequel to the caricature, "Political Quadrille of October 1806." In this plate the King of Spain is depicted as having left his party. Seizing Napoleon by the throat, he upsets both the second table and the Pope. George III., seeing the attitude of Spain, exclaims in high glee: "What! what a dust, eh? So much the better. Boney got the worst of the game! I must lend a hand."

The Emperor Alexander says: "Now is the time to rub off the dust of Tilsit."

The King of Prussia adds: "If I don't take advantage of the present opportunity, I shall indeed try a Prussian cake."

The King of Spain says to Napoleon: "I tell you you are a scoundrel, and if you do not restore my King whom you have stolen from the other table, and reinstate Ponto, by the honor of a Spanish patriot I will strangle you."

The French Emperor answers: "Don't be so boisterous. I only borrowed him merely to make up the pack."

The Emperor of Austria (rising, and taking down his hat and sword) says: "Ah, ah! the game has taken a different turn from what I expected. I must not be idle."

The Dutchman (in haste to depart) says: "Donder and Blixens (*sic*), I be quite tired of the game. Yaw, yaw, now be the time for me to rise."

[1] Talleyrand was supposed to be strongly opposed to the Spanish venture, and to have endeavoured to dissuade Bonaparte from embarking on it.

A great many other caricatures appeared during the month of August, and on September 3 Tegg produced George Cruikshank's "A Spanish Joke," in which eight Spaniards are depicted in the act[1] of tossing "King Joe" in a blanket. One of them cries, "This is robbing the inn and running away without paying your reckoning." The traveller's wallet is lettered "Sancho Panza." John Bull, standing in the doorway of the Inn, exclaims, "That's your sort, my lads. Up with him, my game chicken. Huzza! here's more ships, colonies, and commerce, but not for Brother Nap." Joseph ejaculates, "Oh miseracordi, King Jo! This is a bad time for *Jo-King*." Napoleon (as Don Quixote), looking over the wall, says, "You vile caitiffs, how dare you use my squire in such an uncorteous manner. Know that if I durst leap the wall I would—aye, that I would." Below, Chapter vii. "Don Quixote." Four days later Ackermann published another ingenious print, "The Political Butcher, or Spain cutting up Buonaparte for the benefit of her neighbours." A butcher in Spanish dress holds the knife between his teeth, with which he has just severed the head of Napoleon. Other carcases, labelled *Murat*, *Dupont*, and *Junot* are suspended by the feet. A two-headed eagle of Austria, with the word *Vienna* inscribed on either wing, pecks viciously at the French Emperor's decollated head, saying: "I have long wished to strike my talons into that diabolical head-piece, and now I hope to do it effectively." The Butcher, addressing various animals round him, says: "Now, my little fellows, here are bones for you all to pick; the meat, being just killed, may be somewhat toughish, but I

[1] See other caricatures on a similar theme, Appendix A, 373 and 646.

warrant it fresh and high-flavoured—true Corsican veal, I assure you—you see the head." The Russian Bear licks the feet of the corpse, saying: "This licking gives me a mortal inclination to pick a bone as well as the rest, but Turkey is a fine garden and would be a vast acquisition." *Sweden* (a dog) says to the Russian Bear: "Yes, but a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." *Denmark* (another dog), biting at the arm of Napoleon's corpse, says: "The nearer the bone, the sweeter the meat, but the nearer that bull the less I can eat." The Bull-dog (*England*), with Napoleon's hand in his mouth, exclaims: "I should like to have the picking of that head, but I daresay it is hare-brained." Prussia (represented by an Eagle) says: "Oh, the delicious morsel for an eagle to pick, but my clipt wings cannot bear me so high. Cruel Boney, why cut them so short?" The Dutch Frog, on a cask of Hollands, next to another cask marked "Somniferous Cordial for King Louis," smokes his pipe stolidly, saying: "If I were sure matters are as they appear, I should like to pick a bone, it is true; but wisdom bids us doubt, and prudence condemns precipitation, so I'll e'en take another whiff." The Roman Greyhound is busily engaged in studying a new *Concerto* entitled—

> "If you will not when you may,
> When you will it shall be nay"

—"the harmony by Spain and Portugal." Italy's motto is *Adagio*.

The number of caricatures published on the Spanish situation continues to be as large in September as in July and August. Rowlandson was the author of one

entitled, "Napoleon in a Rage with his Great French Eagle" (Ackermann, September 20), now reproduced.

At the close of August 1808,[1] Napoleon wrote from St. Cloud, "In war *men* are nothing; it is *a man* who is everything." He was then unaware that a *man* had arrived on the scene of action. "On the 17th of that month Sir Arthur Wellesley had driven the French vanguard from Roliça; and when, four days later, Junot hurried up with all his force, the British inflicted on that presumptuous leader a signal defeat at Vimiera." Junot is the maimed bird of Rowlandson's plate: "Confusion and destruction!" says Napoleon, addressing him, "what is this I see? Did I not command you not to return till you had spread your wing of victory over the whole Spanish nation?" The maimed bird replies: "Aye, it's fine talking, Nap, but if you had been there you would not much have liked it—the Spanish cormorants pursued me in such a manner that they have not only disabled one of my legs, but set me a moulting in such a terrible way that I wonder I had not lost every feather, besides it has got so hot that I could not bear it any longer."

"A Hard Passage, or Boney playing Base on the Continent" (Ackermann, September 24) was etched by Rowlandson from a design by the industrious George Sauley. Napoleon seated on a drum, a base viol between his knees, places his feet on the map of Europe. Close to him is a roll of papers lettered "Boney's Orations." Behind him, on a music desk, is the *Concerto* "Conquest of Spain and Portugal." "Plague take it," says the Emperor, "I never met with so difficult a passage before, but if I can once get over *the flats*, we shall do pretty

[1] J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, pp. 170–171.

NAPOLEON THE LITTLE IN A RAGE WITH HIS GREAT FRENCH EAGLE!!

By T. Rowlandson, September 20, 1808

well, for you see the *Key* will then change to *B. sharp.*" The Russian Bear, with the horn at its lips, replies: "Why, that is natural enough, brother Boney, though this French horn of yours seems rather out of order, I think." In Rowlandson's "Nap and his Partner Joe" (Tegg, September 29), some Spanish Dons are seen in the act of kicking Napoleon and his brother Joseph into the jaws of a gigantic monster belching flame and smoke. They sing in chorus [1]—

> "So seeing we were finely nick'd,
> Plump to the Devil we boldly kicked
> Both Nap and his partner Joe."

The indignation felt in England at the Convention of Cintra (signed August 22, 1808) was made the subject of a good many caricatures which do not come within the sphere of this work. In one of them, "The Hampshire Hogs," Wellesley and his brother generals are carried in a procession hanging on gibbets. The only print which in any way concerns Napoleon is one by Woodward, entitled, "The Convention of Cintra. Portuguese Gambol for the Amusement of John Bull" (Tegg, February 3, 1809). It is not till 1811 that Napoleon again figures in British caricatures relating to our military operations in the Peninsula. On February 1 of that year there appeared anonymously in the *Satirist* [2] the print, "Sketch for a Prime Minister, or How to purchase a Peace." A figure of Spain holds in her hand a scroll bearing the words "Wellington's Recall." Napoleon, with a bag of money over his arm, an olive branch in

[1] For other caricatures on the same lines as this, see *ante*, p. 202, footnote, and *post*, vol. ii. ch. xxiii., "Italy's Entreaty," p. 148.

[2] Vol. viii. p. 5.

one hand and a dagger in the other, says: "Et moi aussi."[1]

In the *Scourge* of May 1811[2] there is another anonymous caricature, "British Cookery, or Out of the Frying Pan into the Fire," in which Wellington is depicted in the act of frying with one hand a number of French soldiers, in a pan lettered "Portugal," over a huge open fire—the "Grand Kitchen of Europe"[3]—before which Massena, with the beak and talons of the French eagle, revolves slowly on the "British" spit; while Beresford stimulates the fire with bellows of "British Bravery," Wellington, with his spare hand, covers the victim with "British Basting." While Junot peeps out of a pickle-jar, Bonaparte (wearing his imperial crown) stretches out his arms imploringly from a stewpan placed on an adjoining stove. In the smoke above the frizzling manikins the words "French Gasconade" are discernible.

On October 1, 1812, the proprietors of *Town Talk* published an anonymous caricature entitled "Joseph's Flight," depicting a scene supposed to have taken place after Wellington's victory over Marmont at Salamanca (July 22), which led to the fall of Madrid. The King in a waggon is surrounded by nuns. Other vehicles are laden with the spoils of the churches, skins of wine and

[1] *Satirist*, vol. viii. p. 5.

[2] Vol. i. p. 345.

[3] Sir Arthur Wellesley was made a peer on Sep. 4, 1809. He did not become an Earl till Feb. 18, 1812. He had repulsed Massena at Busaco in 1810, and was destined to again defeat him at Fuentes de Onoro on May 3–5, 1811. Amongst Gillray's unfinished sketches for caricatures in possession of the writer are two very similar drawings entitled the "Broad Bottom Dripping Pan."

furniture. Joseph, addressing the bystanders, says: "Bye, bye, don't cry so, my faithful subjects. I'll come back to you as soon as those damn'd English will let me. I have taken a few tokens to remember you by." The soldiers are following their sovereign's example in the matter of loot, and maltreat those of the spectators who indulge in manifestations of joy. There is an anonymous caricature of June 1813, "Mad Nap breaking the Armistice," in which Napoleon falls into such a frenzy of anger at the news from Spain, that Talleyrand makes preparations for putting on a strait-waistcoat. This print is stated facetiously to be "taken from the original in Dresden,"

The battle of Vittoria (June 21, 1813) was quickly followed by the issue of several caricatures on the subject of the discomfiture of the French. George Cruikshank was first in the field with "Boney receiving an Account of the Battle of Vittoria, or the Little Emperor in a great Passion" (Knight, July 8). Next day appeared the anonymous print, both as regards artist and publisher, entitled "Jourdan and King Joe, or Off they go. A Peep at the French Commanders at the Battle of Vittoria," and a little later one or two others of less importance. On October 1, Ackermann published a caricature by Rowlandson, "Nap and his Partner Joe." In this print Napoleon, Joseph, Death, and the Devil are depicted as sitting at a table drinking wine. On the wall behind them is a picture of Malmaison. Joseph, undeterred by the catastrophe of the previous June, proposes a toast, "Success to plunder and massacre." Beneath the print are four verses, supposed

to be sung by all present to the tune of "Drops of Glory."

Napoleon sings:

"The Spaniards are terrible rogues,
They will not submit to my fetters
With patience so gracefully worn,
Nay, sought for by Nations their betters.
But, let us return to the charge
And no longer with levity treat them,
Once get them to lay down their arms
And I warrant, brave boys, we shall beat them!"

Death sings:

"Brother Boney, we'll never despair,
A trusty good friend I have found you,
Kill, plunder and burn and destroy,
And deal desolation around you.
Then gaily let's push round the glass,
We'll sing and we'll riot and revel,
And I'm sure we shall have on our side
Our very good friend, here, the Devil."

The Devil sings:

"Believe me, friend Death, you are right:
Although I'm an ugly old fellow,
When mischief is getting afloat,
Oh, then I am jolly and mellow.
As soon as these Spaniards are crush'd,
Again we'll be merry and sing, Sirs,
And that we will quickly accomplish
And, Joey, here, he shall be King, Sirs."

Don Joey sings:

"Excuse me from lending my aid,
You may jointly pursue them and spike them,
But lately I've seen them—and own,
If I speak the plain truth, I don't like them.
They liberty cherish so dear,
That they constantly make her their guide, oh
Who pleases may make themselves King,
But may I be damnèd if *I* do!"

Anonymous caricature of May, 1811

This is the last of the caricatures against Napoleon on the subject of the Spanish adventure which cost both England and France so many precious lives and so many millions of money. Ferdinand VII., who returned in due course to Madrid, does not seem to have been chastened by exile and misfortune, or to have deserved the enthusiasm with which (according to Byron) the lusty and patriotic muleteers were wont to chaunt "Viva el Rey!" and cry "War to the knife." Shortly before Waterloo (May 21, 1815) Humphrey published on one plate two caricature portraits by George Cruikshank. On one side was "The Pig Faced Lady of Manchester Square," on the other the "Spanish Mule of Madrid." Below the latter runs the following account of the restored Ferdinand :—

"This wonderful *monster* (to the great grief of his subjects) is a King! He was *caught* about seven years ago by Buonaparte, and during his confinement in France amused himself by singing anthems and working a robe in Tambour for the Holy Virgin! but since his liberation he has amused himself by Hanging his best Friends!!!"

Much had happened since Napoleon, in the early summer of 1808, had made the unholy compact at Bayonne which had caused every true-hearted Spaniard

> ". . . To execrate Godoy,
> The royal wittol Charles, and curse the day
> When first Spain's Queen beheld the black-eyed boy,
> And gore-faced Treason sprung from her adulterate joy."

He had divorced Josephine to marry the daughter of the Austrian Emperor against whom he had waged the bloody war of 1809, and had suffered the terrible

Russian disaster of 1812. Within two months of Wellington's triumph at Vittoria, Austria, Russia, and Prussia declared war against France (August 11, 1813). Two months later he suffered a crushing defeat at Leipzic.

The uprising of Germany was the natural sequel of the patriotic movement in Spain. Without the victories of Wellington in the Peninsula and the stubborn resistance of the Spanish patriots, the fifth and sixth coalitions might never have been possible. It was the Spanish Revolution which laid bare the true character of Bonaparte. At St. Helena he frankly confessed it was the policy of Bayonne which had ruined him. His political death, as he himself put it, was attributable to "the Spanish ulcer."

CHAPTER XIII

ENGLISH CARICATURES OF NAPOLEON, OTHER THAN THOSE CONCERNING THE PENINSULAR WAR, FROM JANUARY 1, 1808, UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST RUSSIA (MAY 9, 1812)

"Dix empires conquis devinrent ses provinces
Il ne fut pas content dans son orgueil fatal—
Il ne voulait dormir qu'en une cour de princes,
Sur un trône continental."
—VICTOR HUGO.

"Mil huit cent onze !—o temps où des peuples sans nombre
Attendaient, prosternés sur un nuage sombre,
Que le ciel eût dit oui !
Sentaient trembler sous eux les Etats centenaires
Et regardaient le Louvre entouré de tonnerres
Comme un mont Sinai."
—VICTOR HUGO.

THE period dealt with in this chapter is that during which Napoleon arrived at the zenith of his power. It virtually began with the *parterre des rois* at Erfurt (September 1808), when the Czar Alexander pressed his hand effusively on the recital of Voltaire's line :—

"L'amitié d'un grand homme est un bienfait des dieux."

The fifth coalition against France was entered into between England and Austria on April 6, 1809. It was quickly followed by the outbreak of hostilities between Austria and France. Napoleon left Paris for the seat of war on April 13, and his arrival at Rohr a week later

was quickly followed by the battles of Eckmühl (April 22), the occupation of Vienna (May 13), the doubtful victory of Aspern-Essling (May 21–22), the desperate fight at Wagram (July 6), and the peace-treaty of August 10, the indirect consequence of which was the divorce of Josephine (December 14), and the marriage of Napoleon to the Archduchess Marie Louise, the daughter of the Emperor Francis (April 1–2, 1810). On March 20, 1811, his son, the King of Rome, was born at the Tuileries, and, as Victor Hugo wrote long years after :—

> " Et son cri, ce doux cri qu'une nourrice apaise
> Fit, nous l'avons tous vu, bondir et hurler d'aise
> Les canons monstrueux . . . ."

The year 1810 had been one of aggression and annexation. Before it ended, the exigencies of Napoleon's insensate economic war against England had necessitated the extension of the boundaries of the Empire to Holland, Holstein, the Hanse Towns, and a dozen other states and cities. King Louis firmly declined to ruin his Dutch merchants by the strict enforcement of the Berlin Decree and the other rescripts which followed it, and the effect of which Napoleon sought to intensify by the Trianon tariff. When it was too late he discovered that commerce could not be made to " manœuvre like a regiment." It was the year 1810 which saw the climax of Napoleon's fatal commercial experiment," [1] but its ultimate consequences were not yet evident. As far as external appearances were concerned, it is not astonishing that on the birth of the King of Rome (the deposed Pope being then a state-prisoner at Fontainebleau) Napoleon had

[1] Dr. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. p. 211.

By "A. M.," September 10, 1808

declared that the most brilliant portion of his reign was about to be completed.

The clouds on the political horizon were, however, numerous and ominous. The disasters in Spain tended to shake the confidence of both the Czar and the Austrian Emperor in the stability of the Napoleonic dynasty. They encouraged in a still more marked degree the slow awakening of the dormant instinct of German nationality which began in the early days of 1808 with Fichte's "Addresses to the German Nation," and the profound conviction by Jean Paul Richter that "the Germans would one day rise against the French as the Spaniards had done, and that Prussia would revenge its insults and give freedom to Germany." In 1810 Louisa, the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Prussia died of a broken heart, and Hofer, the brave Tyrolese patriot, suffered martyrdom, shouting with his last breath, "Long live the Emperor Francis." Austria, it is true, had recognised Joseph as King of Spain, but the astute Metternich (four years younger than Napoleon) had succeeded Stadion, and on August 10, 1809, had written to his master that "from the day when peace is signed we must confine our system to tacking and turning, and flattering. Thus alone may we possibly preserve our existence, *till the day of general deliverance.*"[1] While the annexation of the Papal States and the deposition of the Pope (May 1809) had gained for the modern Charlemagne the ill-will of all good Catholics, the relentless crusade against British commerce had ruined half the merchants of Europe, besides occasioning distress and privation in every home. The fifth coalition between England and Austria

[1] English edition of *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 365.

(April 6, 1809) had been short lived, and the ignominious collapse of the unlucky Walcheren Expedition was only in some measure atoned for by the laurels gained by Wellington at Talavera and Busaco. In 1811 the French were heartily tired of war. The Parisians, who now suffered acutely from the abnormal dearness of all colonial produce, declared that they had quite enough of glory, and lampoons against the Emperor began to make their appearance. A succession of brilliant fêtes failed to console the average citizen for the high price he was compelled to pay for his coffee, sugar, and cotton goods. Before Napoleon set out to do battle with his former boon companion in the royal *parterre* at Erfurt, the feeling of dissatisfaction and unrest was almost as universal within the confines of the now unwieldy Empire as without. For the due appreciation of the caricatures of these memorable years, this brief *résumé* of the chief events which occurred in them may be borne in mind by the reader.

Both the Cruikshanks worked on the caricature "Boney Stark Mad! or more Ships, Colonies, and Commerce," which Fores published on January 1, 1808. Napoleon is depicted as having invaded Portugal, but his troops only arrive on the banks of the Tagus to see the Royal Family leaving for the Brazils. The sailors utter derisive cries, and an officer, Sir Sidney Smith, through a speaking-trumpet, offers to conduct the French to the Brazils and give them a glass of Madeira by the way. A French officer from the fortifications declares that all the guns are spiked, and the Emperor, seizing Talleyrand, covers him with abuse, saying: "Why did you not make more haste, you hoppy

rascal? Now all my hopes are blasted, and I'll glut my revenge on you!"

On March 22, 1808, Humphrey published Gillray's wonderful print "Phaeton Alarmed,"[1] which has, with good reason, been described as one of the artist's "finest allegorical conceptions." Canning, "The Sun of Anti-Jacobinism," enacts the part of the adventurous Phaeton, while in the steeds drawing his chariot one can easily recognise the features of Liverpool, Perceval, Castlereagh, and Eldon. To the wheels are attached "Copenhagen" and "Libra Britannicus." Sheridan, as usual, is a drunken Silenus, and on the crest of the globe rides Napoleon, as Ursa Major, mounted on the Russian Bear. Gillray doubtless knew that in one of his Eton effusions Canning had used the lines "To live in a blaze, and in a blaze expire." At this time Napoleon had not set out on his journey to Bayonne. In Gillray's "Delicious Dreams. Castles in the Air—Glorious Prospects" (Humphrey, April 10), the principal members of the British Ministry are depicted as sleeping peacefully after a drunken orgy. In the clouds above them Britannia Triumphant is seen, seated in a car, to the wheels of which are chained the French Emperor and his ally, the Russian Bear. On the same day Tegg produced Woodward's "National Opinions on Bouonaparte"[1] (*sic*), in which a number of figures, representing various nationalities, have something to say about the French Emperor, now on his way to Spain.

[1] Gillray's original design for this caricature is in the possession of the writer. It is executed in pencil, black and red ink and Chinese white, on a series of measured squares numbered from 1 to 20 longitudinally and 1 to 16 diagonally. To the right the artist has written the names of all the personages he has introduced, and to the left several lines of description.

Egypt says: "His extortions are abominable. I wish he was made a mummy of."

Germany (Austria): "I mean a great deal when I shake my head."

Prussia is mum.

France in chorus shouts: "Long live the Emperor! Vive la Liberté!"

Russia says: "I curse him one moment and am friends with him the next."

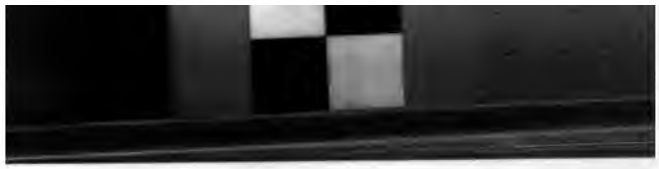
America as a Quaker: "Verily the spirit doth move me to shake hands."

John Bull: "I laugh at him and defy him, but still I don't much like him."

The same spirit pervades this artist's "Progress of the Empress Josephine" (Tegg, April 20). The unfortunate wife of Napoleon is depicted successively as a planter's daughter, a French countess, a widow, a prisoner, a loose fish, Barras's mistress, a general's lady, and an Empress. In "L'Enfant Trouvé" (Humphrey, May 19) Gillray introduces a veiled portrait of "St. Napolean,"[1] while the name of "Sainte Napoleone" appears on an open missal.

In Woodward's "The Corsican Rope-Dancer, with humours of John Bull as the Clown" (Tegg, June 6), Napoleon is portrayed as kneeling on a rope, balancing himself with a pole, at one end of which is "Force" and the other "Craft." On his nose are posed a number of bladders lettered "Rome," "Austria," "Italy," "Spain," "Switzerland," "Westphalia," "Prussia," and "Holland." To the left is seen the Rock of Ambition with indications of the

[1] The name was so spelled by those who tried to identify Napoleon with the Beast of the Apocalypse. See *post*, ch. xxvii.



FRENCH GENERALS receiving an English CHARGE.

path to the summit. At this end the rope is supported by props inscribed "Tyranny" and "Usurpation," tied by tricolour ribbons to the Tree of Liberty. The sun sinks below the horizon in the background. On it are the words, "I must set." John Bull, in a glowing yellow gown and Pierrot collar and cap, and the Royal arms emblazoned on the front of his robe, leans his elbow on the rock of "Honour and Stability." The "Craft" end of the balancing pole, inscribed "Absolute Power," causes John Bull to move backwards. Napoleon says: "Here, Master Bull, look here, here's a balance of power for you." To which John Bull replies: "Very fine indeed; but I wonder, Boney, you would have anything to do with a Rope. It is rather ominous. Besides, these bladders may burst, and after all your capering you may crack your crown at last. Come, come, I see what you're at; but don't think to crack my crown with the end of your pole."

By a strange coincidence on the very next day Joseph Bonaparte joined his brother at Bayonne *en route* for his new kingdom, in his caricature "Disciples Catching the Mantle—the Spirit of Darkness overshadowing the Priests of Baal" (Humphrey, June 28), Gillray introduces the figure of Napoleon, riding at the head of his troops on the other side of the Channel, but no further allusion is made to him.

In the plate attributed to Ansell, "Boney Bothered, or An Unexpected Meeting" (Tegg, July 9), the revival of Bonaparte's schemes of Eastern conquest is evidently alluded to. A map of the Old World is faintly indicated, France and the British Isles in the foreground. The head of the French emperor suddenly emerges from a

crevice lettered "East Indies," and he places a foot on Bengal. Near him is an Indian plan of campaign. John Bull, a stout, oaken cudgel in hand, confronts him from another crevice; behind him is a bundle labelled "Secret Intelligence." Napoleon says: "Begar, Monsieur Jean Bull again! Vat you know I was come here." John Bull replies: "To be sure I did! For all your humbug deceptions I smelled your intentions, and have brought my oak twig with me; so now you may go back again."

That news from Spain must have travelled fast is evidenced by Woodward's "The Corsican Spider in his Web" (Tegg, July 12). In the middle of a huge web is a big spider, lettered "Unbounded Ambition," busily engaged in swallowing *Spanish Flies*. Outside the web is the Russian fly, saying: "I declare I was half in the web before I made the discovery. The Turkish fly is afraid it would be its turn next, while the Papal fly trembles lest it should be drawn in. The Austrian, Dutch, Prussian, Italian, and Venetian flies are already entangled, the Portuguese partially so. A portly British fly, with a John Bull head, well outside the web, cries merrily: "Ay, you may look, Master Spider, but I am not to be caught in your web."

Gillray had also the march of events in Spain in view when he designed the "Apotheosis of the Corsican Phœnix" (Humphrey, August 2), in ridicule of Napoleon's ambition. The pile on which the Phœnix immolates itself consists of Portugal, Spain, France, and other countries. In accordance with the old fable, Napoleon appears at the top of the print reincarnated as a dove "bearing an olive branch in his mouth and conveying

'Peace on Earth.'" In "The Rising Sun, or A View of the Continent," a caricature by G. Sauley, engraved by Rowlandson (Ackermann, August 28), we catch a faint glimpse of the dawn of European nationality. To the extreme left is a funeral urn inscribed "In Memory of the Crown of Naples." (Joseph had exchanged the crown of Naples for that of Spain.) To the extreme right is Prussia in a strait-waistcoat crowned with straw and humming some doggerel verses. The Sun of Spain and Portugal rises behind a hill, to the dismay of Napoleon, who has been rocking the Russian bear to sleep with futile promises. In the background the King of Sweden, Charles XIII., apostrophises Russia: "Awake, thou sluggard, ere the fatal blow is struck and thou and thine venerable ally sink into oblivion!" Poland is represented only by the shadow of a cap of liberty. Holland is fast asleep. Denmark is covered with an extinguisher, but Austria is drawing her sword, shouting: "Tyrant, I defy thee and thy cursed crew!"

Below run the following verses—

"Just as the Rising Sun dispels
The gloom of night to bless us with new day,
So genuine Patriotism expels
Vindictive Tyrants from despotic sway.
Thus Spain, the source of patriotic worth,
(A rising Sun of Freedom to the Earth)
Invites the Captive Nations to forego,
The Yoke, and crush their sanguinary Foe.
Why then, ye Nations, will ye not embrace
The proffered Freedom smiling in your face?
Why dilli-dally when to sink or rise
Rests with yourself? Dare ye contemn the prize?
Is Freedom nothing worth that for her sake
Ye dare not e'en one generous effort make?

Alas ! infatuated Monarchs, see
What is and what your Fate must ever be.
Spain is a Sun arising to illume
The threefold horrors of your future doom,
While she on Freedom's golden wings shall tower
The Arbitress of continental power.
Russia's a Bear amid impending woes,
Rock'd by the insidious Tyrant to repose.
Sweden's a Warrior of distinguished worth,
Sweden has given to many heroes birth.
Austria's a Phœnix rising renovated,
Whose genial warmth with Spain incorporated,
Longer disdains to crouch at the fell shrines
Of Usurpation and the foulest crimes.
Prussia, poor Prussia, with straight (*sic*) jacket on
And crown of straw proves what delays have done.
Denmark, too, half extinguished shows
The fruits of leaguing with Old England's foes.
And Holland, drowsy Holland, dreams
Of aggrandisement, potent Kings and Queens.
While Poland, a mere shadow in the rear,
(As proof of something once existent there)
Yields to the yoke, nor dares its shackles break
Lest by so doing she her Freedom stake.
Poor silly Mortals, will ye ever bow
To the dread shrine of Tyranny and Woe,
Or by co-operation overwhelm
The Scourge of Nations and resume the Helm."

The return of Napoleon from the Spanish frontier was not greeted with enthusiasm in Paris. Talleyrand viewed the whole business with thinly veiled distrust. These facts give point to Woodward's "The Fox and the Grapes," which Rowlandson etched (Ackermann, September 15). Beneath a vine covered with grapes meet the Corsican Fox and the Gallic Cock, the former with the head of Napoleon. The Cock says: "But, my good friend, you promised to bring me home some Spanish grapes and Portugal plums. Where are they?" The

Emperor replies: "Believe me, my dear Doodle-doo, you would not like them. I found them *so sour* that I absolutely could not touch them."

There must have been some more talk of the invasion of England before the Emperor set out to meet the Czar at Erfurt (September 22). On September 19 Fores published a clever caricature by "A. M.," now reproduced, entitled, "A Senatus Consultum, or Bonaparte making his Will before his Invasion of England and Conquest of the World." In this plate we see the French Emperor seated at a table, his foot on the "Law of Nations"; behind him is the figure of Death preparing to strike with an arrow, on the feathers of which are the words: "British Navy," "Volunteers," "Army of Reserve," "Militia," "Regulars." In the extreme left-hand corner of the print is the Eye of Providence. The Devil approaches from the right, carrying a flaming device with the words: "Bourbons restored—Death—Bonaparte—Death!" His attendant imp, carrying a bowl of Egyptian poison, cries: "Why, he's uglier than papa!" Napoleon says: "I am puzzled about naming my successor. Pray let me know my fate before I go to conquer England." The Evil One replies: "Pray don't trouble yourself about your successor. It is I."

Napoleon had reached Metz on his way to Prussian Saxony when Gillray's splendid allegorical caricature, "The Valley of the Shadow of Death," appeared (Humphrey, September 24). This print also concerns the "uprising of the nations" foreseen by Talleyrand. On entering the "Valley of Death" (*le commencement de la fin*), Napoleon finds himself face to face with the "Leo Britannicus," the Sicilian Terrier, and the Portu-

guese Wolf; while Death, astride a horse of "The True Royal Spanish breed," holds up an hour-glass, as if preparing to strike him with his dart. He is also assailed with the thunders of the Church, and warned of his impending doom by the departed spirits of Junot, Dupont, and Charles XII. The Austrian Eagle is emerging from a cloud, and the Russian bear (having broken its chain) threatens his rear, while other menaces proceed from the Prussian Scare-crow, the Rhenish Confederation of Starved Rats, the Dutch Frogs, and the American Rattlesnake. King Joseph is floundering hopelessly in the waters of the Styx. Wellesley had defeated Junot at Vimiera (August 21), and after a residence of little more than a fortnight Joseph Bonaparte had retired precipitately from Madrid (July 29). Gillray invited Europe to discard the illusion that the forces of Napoleon were invincible. On October 7, the day on which the Emperor visited the battlefield of Jena in the company of the Czar and the Duke of Weimar, Ackermann published George Cruikshank's "Apollyon, the Devil's Generalissimo, addressing his legions," in which Napoleon is represented as surrounded by his troops and holding in his hands a banner in which is portrayed a twin-skeleton, in the grasp of each of which is an arrow. He makes a long speech, beginning "Sons of Death,—After having ravished, murdered, and plundered on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, I shall order you to march through France without allowing you a moment's rest! I have occasion for you. The hideous presence of religion and loyalty contaminates the continent of Spain and Portugal, and so forth." The soldiers murmur: "What, more blood!"

will never pardon him," " Beware of Prussia," " Let him tremble at the name of America," and " I will eternally smoke him."

The effect produced by English pictorial satire on the mind of Napoleon and his staff is very amusingly depicted in Isaac Cruikshank's " French Generals receiving an English Charge " (Fores, April 28). A consignment of English caricatures (*Gallice* " charge ") relating to the scandal of the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke reach Paris, where they are heartily engaged by Napoleon, Talleyrand, and a party of French generals. The portrait of the English Commander-in-Chief receives disrespectful treatment. Talleyrand says: " Ah, dis be de grand Commander at Dunkirk, who swim like a fish, drink like a duck, and runs like a greyhound ! " The Emperor replies : " Ay, Tally, this is not the way I reward merit, by putting inexperienced boys over the heads of experienced veterans." Another French general, convulsed with laughter, says: " Dere is nothing to be feared from such petticoat commanders. Remember Valenciennes ! " It must be confessed that this caricature tells severely against the indiscreet English Commander-in-Chief. In the anonymous plate in the issue of the *Satirist* for May 1, 1809,[1] " A Second-sight View of the Blessings of Radical Reform," Napoleon is made to hover above the English statesmen as a hybrid animal, half eagle, half harpy, the face being drawn with considerable skill. Rowlandson's " Boney's Broken Bridge " (Ackerman, June 12) refers to a disaster which occurred at the battle of Aspern (May 21–22) and gave rise to considerable controversy. An

[1] Vol. iv. p. 416.

There's no Condition more to envied as yours
Day and Night to dandle such a Dragon
The little Dears two hearts without Fear
See how the Blood is spilled on his Traitorous
Face — that brutal mischief fills their
Eyes — Rage and Vengeance
Sparkle in his Looks — the very sparks
and dint of the Tyrant Father — Nay
more I wish anyone he is the very
Picture of his Grandfather the
Devil —

NURSING the SPAWN of a TYRANT:
OR FRENCHMEN SICK of the BREED.

By George Cruikshank, April 14, 1811

[redacted]

aged general says: "With all due deference to your Majesty, it was Austrian Fire-Boats that destroyed the bridge." Bonaparte replies: "Ah, who is it that dares to contradict? I say it was some floating timber, and the high swell of the river caused the accident." The troops in the distance, headed by the Archduke Charles, are singing:—

"Boney's bridge is broken down.
Dance over the Lady Lea!
Boney's bridge is broken down
By an Archduke—ee."

Another caricature on the same subject by an unknown artist, "The Broken Bridge, or Boney outwitted by General Danube. *Vide* French Bulletin," was published by Walker. The result of this battle was evidently considered very doubtful. In George Cruikshank's "Coming to the Point," published by J. Johnston (July) and described by Captain Douglas as No. 655, it is treated as an Austrian success. The Archduke Charles is supposed to hold Napoleon in mid-stream, while three French Generals look on from the opposite bank. The result of the costly Walcheren expedition met with general ridicule. It had received the cordial support of the City, and Sir W. Curtis, ex-Lord Mayor, had been one of its zealous advocates. This explains the caricatures "The Death of Boney, by Sir William Biscuit" (Fores, August 14, 1809), from a design by "H. M." A huge turtle has seized Napoleon by the nose and crushes him beneath its weight. Napoleon exclaims, "Oh, oh, Curtis has laid me low, immortal Curtis oh!!" Curtis from a boat shouts, "Aye, aye, that there's him. I knows him by his woice. Success to the expedition." Above this caricature are

the words, "Glorious news from the expedition." Heath's "The Flushing Phantasmagoria" (Walker) deals amusingly with the same melancholy subject. Percival, the Prime Minister, is inducing John Bull to look through a telescope at the various scenes of the Walcheren Expedition, which he displays by means of a magic lantern. A demon laughs derisively behind a curtain, and a figure, apparently that of Napoleon, points to the landing of a number of sick and wounded soldiers. After Napoleon's decree of annexation, issued at Vienna on May 17, 1809, the Pope hurled his bull of excommunication against the spoliator. This is alluded to in Rowlandson's caricature (T. Tegg, September 3), "The Pope's Excommunication of Buonaparte, or Napoleon brought to his last Stool." Three months later Gillray utilised the French Emperor in his caricature "The Introduction of the Pope to the Convocation at Oxford, by the Cardinal Broadbottom" (Humphrey, December 1). The print relates to the election of a Chancellor by the University of Oxford on the death of the Duke of Portland, which resulted in the choice of Lord Grenville, who defeated Lord Eldon by thirteen votes. Bonaparte is depicted as crouching beneath the Pope's robe. With this last attention Gillray takes leave of "Little Boney." This was virtually the last of his political caricatures, although some of the unfinished sketches in possession of the writer are of later date.

On November 30, 1809, Napoleon broke to Josephine the news of the impending divorce, which for some time had been freely discussed by the newsmongers of Europe. On December 15 it became a *fait accompli*. The caricature "Imperial Divorce," now reproduced

(designed by "Satira," etched by "Brocas," and published by Walker, Dublin), appeared towards the end of the year in the *Hibernian Magazine*. It possesses considerable artistic merit. Napoleon and Josephine are seated on thrones in their robes. The Pope lies prostrate on the ground, attached to the Emperor's wrist by a chain. Napoleon says: "I must have issue." To which Josephine replies: "For the benefit of the Empire I resign my husband." Cardinal Fesch, standing beside his nephew, says: "We are agreed in this matter." Near Josephine is a weeping girl to whom a personage in Court dress (the Emperor of Austria?) says, "Take him with a good grace, or I am undone." She replies, "I would prefer even Jerome."

Heath's "Meatey Part and Boney Part" (April 5, 1810) is another version of the time-worn theme of "National Contrasts." The portrait was certainly not complimentary to the Emperor, who three days before had wedded the daughter of the House of Hapsburg. There are, as might be expected, many caricatures on the subject of the marriage, but the great part of them are too coarse to admit of description. Some of them are intended to suggest an unfounded and despicable aspersion on Napoleon. At the end of the year appeared an anonymous caricature on Napoleon's interference in the matrimonial affairs of his brother Lucien (Fores, December 24). A French officer, with cloven feet and a Phrygian cap in hand, approaches Lucien Bonaparte, surrounded by his wife and children, saying, "Votre serviteur, Mr. Lucien!! your imperial brother is determined to make you great and happy. These are the terms (extending a letter), Lucien: Kick your wife and children out of doors.

I shall marry you to a Princess and make you King of Rome. Comply immediately, or dread the vengeance of your brother Napoleon." Lucien says: "He seems determined to make me a villain, but I am determined there shall be one honest man in the family, and shall fly to that country where character is respected." Various cries of despair are uttered by his wife and numerous children.

The birth of a son to Napoleon at 9.20 A.M. on March 20, 1811, was hailed with rapturous enthusiasm at Paris. His father at once made him King of Rome (Lucien had apparently lost his chance), and at 9 P.M. on the same day he was anointed as such. On April 9, Tegg published Rowlandson's "Boney the Second, or The Little Baboon, created to devour French Monkeys" (Tegg). Mother and son were treated with equal cruelty. In a cradle, lettered "Devil's Darling," is the King of Rome in the guise of a monkey, stretching out his hand towards his father in the act of discharging certain domestic offices. On the mantelpiece, supported by caryatids, is a row of crowns; on the fire is a saucepan marked "French blood." Beside the cradle kneels a mitred ecclesiastic, probably Cardinal Fesch. In the background a hideous harridan is administering to the wants of Marie Louise in bed. The Emperor says: "Rejoice, O ye Frenchmen, the fruits of my labour has (*sic*) produced a little image of myself. I shall, for the love I owe to your country, instil into my noble offspring the same principles of lying, thieving, treachery, lechery, murder, and all other foul deeds for which I am now worshipped and adored!" The Cardinal exclaims: "The Owl shrieked at thy birth, an evil sight; the night-crow cry'd, foreboding luckless times. Dogs howled and hideous Tempests shook

THE FIRST GLORIOUS EXPLOIT OF THE INVINCIBLE BOULOGNE-FLOTILLA.
Eh bien, Mais Mon Empereur you tell me de Irish Anglais
Le Grand
DEVILS among the FLATS or Boney getting into Hot Water.

Anonymous caricature of September, 1811

down Trees; the Raven rook'd her on the chimney-top, and chattering Pies in dismal Discord sang." Marie Louise exclaims: "Oh, woe is me, seeing what I have seen and seeing that I see."

Rowlandson's "Nursing the Spawn of a Tyrant, or Frenchmen Sick of the Breed" (Tegg, April 14), now reproduced, may be taken as a fair example of the sort of anti-Napoleonic caricature which now enjoyed a considerable vogue in London. In this print we see Marie Louise on a sofa nursing the King of Rome, who holds in his hands a dagger and the imperial orb. Talleyrand in a mitre holds out a goblet inscribed "Composing Draught," saying, "Send him to his Grand Pappa as quick as possible." Bonaparte looks on from behind a curtain. Marie Louise says: "There's no condition sure so curst as mine. Day and night to dandle such a Dragon. The little angry cur snarls while it feeds. See how the blood is settled on his Scarecrow Face. What brutal mischief sits upon his brow. Rage and vengeance sparkle in his *cheeks*—the very spawn and spit of its Tyrant Father. Nay, now I look again, he is the very picture of his grandfather the Devil." The loyalty of Talleyrand was already doubted by Napoleon. George Cruikshank is responsible for several prints on the same subject and conceived in the same spirit. The economic question soon came again to the fore, and in the *Scourge* of August 1, 1811,[1] is a fine Cruikshank caricature (George Cruikshank was now only nineteen, and he had in a great measure filled the place left vacant by Gillray), "The Blessings of Paper Money, or Kings a Bad Subject." A figure of Napoleon crowned is introduced in the act of

[1] Vol. ii. p. 87.

withdrawing a large pan filled with gold from John Bull, who is being dosed with paper money, his chest covered with leeches. In its issue of September 1[1] the *Satirist* again returns to the charge with an anonymous print by "The Caricaturist General." Napoleon is depicted in bed with Marie Louise. A crown surmounts his night-cap. The Prussian eagle shrieks: "Wretch, I leave thee for ever." A devil dandles the King of Rome, saying:—

> "Dear image of my darling Nap,
> Suck milk of hell instead of pap."

Hideous forms represent Toussaint l'Ouverture, Palm, a poisoned soldier and a murdered Turkish soldier. In a row are seen the ghostly presentments of the Duc d'Enghien, Captain Wright, Pichegru, and George Cadoudal. An enormous demon belches forth snakes, a coffin, &c. On a scroll, held by another devil, are the words: "*Morning Post, Courier, Peltier, Ambigu, Satirist, Gilray's Caricatures, &c.*" An angel points to a temple in which Britannia, surrounded by female figures and the British Lion, are seated. The angel exclaims: "Napoleon, lo! Britannia still enjoys the blessings of her constitution. Surrounded by Liberty, Commerce, and Plenty, supported by her heroes, and attended by public felicity, she defies thy machinations." On the right-hand column is inscribed: "G. III. Rex"; on the steps, "Wellington, Graham, Beresford."

Towards the end of the year Napoleon's head was full of invasion schemes, both as regards England and the East. On September 20 he was at Boulogne, where,

[1] Vol. ix. p. 165.

at 6 A.M., he reviewed General Ledru's infantry division. At noon he visited the flotilla in the harbour, and then went by sea to Vimereux and Ambleteuse. During the afternoon the incident occurred which was made the subject of the anonymous caricature now reproduced, to which the publishers Walker and Knight gave the title of "Devils amongst the Flats, or Boney getting into Hot Water. The first glorious Exploit of the Invincible Boulogne Flotilla, September 20, 1811." The Emperor and Ney are depicted in a boat with the name *Napoleon le Grand* painted on the stern. The former is threatening with his sword a French officer in a gunboat, saying: "You scoundrel! How dare you run away, when you were 27 to 5! I'll order the guns of the batteries to sink every one of you!" The terrified naval officer, the sails of whose gunboat are riddled with shot, exclaims: "Eh, bien, mais mon Empereur, you tell us that de Jack anglais be men, but, by gar, we find dem devils." From the head of Nelson, visible as a comet in the sky, forked lightning, inscribed "Remember Nelson," descends on the head of Napoleon.

The anonymous artist of the *Satirist* also pressed the Boulogne incident into service. In the issue of November 1, 1811,[1] appeared the caricature "A Scene at Boulogne, or Needs must when the Devil Drives." Napoleon, holding the pig-tail of one of his naval officers, is inciting his soldiers and sailors to embark to attack the English ships, seen in the offing. He says: "Rascal f . . . e, go fight dem dam English." Another general, telescope in hand, exclaims: "Allons à gloire." A sailor in a boat cries: "Oh! by gar, dey will eat us up all." To the issue of the *Scourge* for the following

[1] Vol. ix. p. 341.

month George Cruikshank contributes the plate "Princely Piety, or The Worshippers at Wanstead."[1] It refers to the court paid by the Duke of Clarence and other distinguished personages to the great heiress Miss Tylney. Napoleon is placing a bag of gold labelled, "To the Baron de Whiskers for Secret Intelligence," in the hand of one of the suitors, a foreigner with ferocious whiskers, kneeling on sacks of money, who in return holds out a letter with the words "Secret Intelligence." Behind is a large box inscribed "Bushy Money-Chest M. T." From the top of this Mrs. Jordan, the actress, exclaiming: "False, faithless, perjured Clarence, behold thy children!" empties a vessel containing a number of infants over the head of the would-be bridegroom of the mistress of Wanstead.

The caricature "Which drowns First? or Boney's improved Bucket" (W. Holland, May 1, 1812), is far more interesting than the majority of the anonymous prints. The economic war against England had become a veritable obsession with Napoleon, who actually assisted us in the matter of food supply, while he vainly tried to destroy our exports. In the middle of the picture are two wooden receptacles lettered respectively "Treasury Bucket" and "Seau de la Grande Nation." The former stands on papers lettered Orders in Council and Deputation from Birmingham, while close to it lies a song, "The Rose had been washed by a shower," to the tune of "Death and the Lady," and coins are seen emerging from the bucket. The latter is placed on a copy of the "Berlin and Milan Decrees" signed and sealed by Napoleon. John Bull's head and shoulders are already im-

[1] Vol. ii. p. 435.

mersed in the Treasury Bucket, but the Emperor withdraws his head from the other to look at him. This receptacle, however, leaks abundantly from two taps inscribed "British Licences" and "Percival's Patent." Close by John Bull stands the British Minister,[1] razors in one hand and mouse-traps in the other. He says, looking towards Napoleon and an American, who stands behind him: "You shall neither have mouse-traps nor razors." The Emperor says: "Ha! ha! me sing, 'Old Rose and burn de bellows.'" The American, holding in his hands the Resolution of Congress and looking towards Rose, exclaims: "You shall have no grain." A direction-post to the left points to Manchester, where flames and smoke are visible. A direction-post to the right indicates Paris. The Gallic cock is crowing loudly behind Napoleon, whose sword and hat lie on the ground.

W. Elmes is responsible for another "Commercial War" caricature, "Rosy Picture of the Times" (Tegg, May 6). In a tub filled with water in the middle of a room stands a Scotchman wearing an enormous rose (George Rose),[2] in his bonnet. Petitions lie on a table, and there is a view of Edinburgh in the distance. A deputation from Birmingham enters the door. The heads of Napoleon and John Bull are immersed in the water of the tub. The former holds in his hands the Berlin Decree, the latter the Order in Council. Rose,

[1] Rt. Hon. George Rose (1744–1818). Rose took office as Vice-President of the Board of Trade in the Portland Administration (1807). He remained in office under Perceval, who offered to make him Chancellor of the Exchequer. He resigned in the spring of 1812. On May 5 he opposed the proposal to alter the corn laws. Rose was chiefly concerned in the drawing up of the Orders in Council necessitated by Napoleon's economic war against England.

[2] *Cf.* "Which drowns First?"

stretching out his hands in bewilderment, says: "Gentlemen, my opinion is that England and France are like two men whose heads are in a bucket of water, and the struggle is which of the two can remain longest in that situation without suffocation."

Six days later (May 9) Napoleon set out for Königsberg, where he arrived on June 12. Marie Louise accompanied him as far as Dresden, where they occupied the rooms once tenanted by Augustus the Strong, King of Poland. On May 26 they were joined by the Emperor and Empress of Austria. A week later he took leave of his wife and her parents, as well as of the King and Queen of Saxony. The next day the King of Prussia arrived, and it was not till May 29 that the French Emperor finally set out to join the army on their march towards the Dwina. In some respects the meeting of the crowned heads at Dresden must have reminded him of the *parterre des rois* at Erfurt four years previously. Before another ten months had passed away, Russia and Prussia had ratified a treaty of alliance at Kalisch, and Napoleon found himself face to face with the fifth and last Coalition.

CHAPTER XIV

ENGLISH CARICATURES RELATING TO NAPOLEON'S RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN, HIS RETREAT FROM MOSCOW AND RETURN TO PARIS (MAY 9 TO DECEMBER 18, 1812)

"That figure never disappears from my memory. I still see him, high on his horse, with eternal eyes in his marble imperial face, gazing down, calm as destiny, on the Guards defiling past—he was then sending them to Russia, and the old Grenadiers glanced up at him, so terribly devoted, so consciously serious, so proud in death. Te, Cæsar, morituri salutant."

—HEINE, *English Fragments.*

"The Kings being conquered, Napoleon had to do with the peoples. It was another Spain, but remote, barren, infinite, that he had found at the other extremity of Europe."—SÉGUR.

THAT the progress of Napoleon's march to Moscow was watched with feverish anxiety in England is evidenced by the large number of caricatures which made their appearance towards the end of 1812 and at the beginning of 1813. The pictorial satire relating to the Russian campaign is little less abundant than that which ten years before had encouraged the British nation to prepare for a stubborn resistance to the threatened invasion of the fatherland, and fanned the flame of the popular detestation of "Little Boney." Complete and hopeless darkness had now fallen on the genius of Gillray. Isaac Cruikshank and G. M. Woodward were both dead, but the mantle of Gillray had descended on the capable shoulders of the versatile and industrious George Cruikshank, who found

in the vicissitudes of the French Emperor and his army during the last three months of 1812 the opportunity of both fame and fortune. The art of caricature was not unknown to Russia,[1] and while some of the native productions reflect the ideas and designs of Thomas Rowlandson, the younger Cruikshank and their less well-known contemporaries, many of the English inspirations may be clearly traced to Muscovite originals.

The final rupture between the Czar Alexander and the Emperor Napoleon was the result of a deep-rooted mistrust on the part of the former which dated back to the days of Tilsit and Erfurt, the mutual irritation occasioned by the rejected matrimonial proposals of 1809–10, the sufferings endured by Russia by reason of the Continental System, and the dubious and uncertain policy of France as regards both Poland and Turkey. In the Spanish disasters Alexander unquestionably saw a chance of bringing matters to an issue which he determined not to miss. He fully realised the value of Wellington's victories at Talavera and Busaco, and his great rival's entanglements beyond the Pyrenees. Napoleon was still at Dresden when the news of the taking of Badajos reached St. Petersburg; before the Pyrrhic triumph of Borodino had been won by the invader, the story of Salamanca had reached the Czar, and nerved him to turn a deaf ear to Napoleon's blandishments. Early in his reign Alexander had tried to pose as the pacificator of Europe; Friedland had well-nigh quenched his ambition, but he now saw a possibility of the tardy fulfilment of the dream of his youth. To Napoleon's somewhat unconvincing proclamation on

[1] See *post*, ch. xxiv.

the banks of the Niemen (June 24, 1812), "Russia is drawn on by fate; her destinies must be fulfilled," he answered boldly and promptly, "God fights against the aggressor." And so it proved.

From June 28 until July 16 Napoleon remained at Wilna. Between the latter date and August 10 he was occupied with a movement directed against the Army of Drissa. From August 11 until August 23 the advance on Smolensk absorbed his attention. On August 14 (the eve of his forty-third birthday), the battle of Krasnoe was fought. Ten days later the march to Moscow commenced. The bloody battle of Boradino began on September 5, and on September 7 Napoleon added to his laurels those of the Moskowa.[1] Seven days afterwards he entered the ancient capital of all the Russias. There was no sign of resistance. The streets seemed deserted—

> "Mais là parut l'écueil de sa course hardie.
> Les peuples sommeillaient ; un sanglant incendie
> Fut l'aurore du grand réveil."
>
> —*Victor Hugo.*

On October 13 snow fell for the first time. It was the day Napoleon signed his famous decree on the subject of the *Comédie Française*. Six days later the retreat began, and "General Hiver" commenced to do his work. It was not till November 9 that the Emperor arrived at Smolensk. On November 26 he superintended the erection of two pontoon bridges across the Beresina. Two days later the desperate battle bearing that name was fought. On November 27 the Emperor and his

[1] Albert Schuermans, *Itinéraire Général*, pp. 307–8.

Guards had crossed the river. On December 4 he left Smorgonia for Paris under the assumed name of M. de Rayneval, a former secretary of the Duke of Vicenza. On December 14 he reached Dresden, which he had quitted on May 29. Shortly before midnight on December 18 he arrived at the Tuileries. The Grand Army had virtually disappeared. Very little was left for Murat or any one else to command "Of the 600,000 men who had proudly crossed the Niemen for the conquest of Russia," writes Dr. J. Holland Rose, "only 20,000 famished, frost-bitten, unarmed spectres staggered across the bridge of Kovno in the middle of December. The auxiliary corps furnished by Austria and Prussia fell back almost unscathed. But the remainder of that mighty host rotted away in Russian prisons, or lay at rest under Nature's winding-sheet of snow."[1] As a matter of fact, the Grand Army was dead. The Young Guard had lost 7600 out of its total strength of 8000. However much we may deplore it, their sufferings and those of their heroic comrades were unmercifully satirised by the caricaturists whose works we are now to consider.

"The Bear, the Bull-Dog, and the Monkey," the first caricature relating to Napoleon's campaign against Russia, sums up the situation with grim humour. Its author was probably W. Heath, and it was published by Holland on August 24, the very day on which Napoleon began his march from Smolensk to Moscow. Napoleon, as a monkey, is in the clutches of the Russian bear, while the bull-dog, with the name of "Wellington" on its collar, flies at his throat. On the ground lies a scroll

[1] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. pp. 255–56.

I General Count Platoff promise to give my Daughter in Marriage
and 2000 Rubles to any Cossack Russian Prussian German Swede
Turk John Bull Jaun Bull Paddy Bull or any other Bull,
who shall bring Me the Head of Little Boney dead or alive.
Ki[illegible] her for a Husband.
O-ho by gone I have lost it Oh
1000 Rubles
A TIT-BIT FOR A COSSACK
Or the Platoff Prize for the Head of Buonaparte

By W. E.mes, January 4, 1813

lettered " French policy. Fraud, Cruelty and Treachery." Below are the following lines :—

" Dame Mischief may say, 'Spare my Monkey, good Sirs,'
But I'll tell you what's best to be done—
The Villain delights in such mischievous stirs
That 'tis wisest to stop all his fun.
So, Bruin and Growler, each play your part,
And worry this troublesome blade,
Then Peace shall again delight ev'ry Heart,
And the rogue will be robbed of his trade."

News from the front evidently travelled very slowly, for it was not until December 1, three days after the terrible passage of the Berisna during the retreat of Napoleon's forces, that W. Elmes's " General Frost shaving Little Boney " was published by Tegg. The full extent of the disaster which had befallen Napoleon was now realised in England. In this plate the Emperor is depicted in the grasp of a gigantic monster with the legs and claws of a bear, holding him fast by the nose. Blasts of the N. and NE. wind come from its nostrils. On its skull-like head is a mountain of ice, crowned with the Polar star. In its right hand is a razor lettered " Russian steel." It crushes a number of French soldiers under its claws. In the background are seen Riga, St. Petersburg and Moscow in flames. The monster says : " Invade my country, indeed ! I'll shave, freeze, and bury you in snow, you little monkey ! " The Emperor piteously begs for mercy. Elmes and Tegg are also jointly responsible for the plate " Jack Frost attacking Boney in Russia." Another monster, mounted on a Russian bear, throws a gigantic snowball at Napoleon, whose nose and toes show signs of mortification. He begs for mercy, swearing by St. Denis that he will never

again invade Russia. This caricature was promptly pirated by M'Cleary of Dublin with some little extra detail.

In the anonymous caricature "Polish Diet with French Desert" (Tegg, December 8), the idea already turned to good account in the case of Massena [1] is again utilised for the benefit of Napoleon, only the basting is described as "Bennigsen's" instead of British, the spit on which the French Emperor is roasted being moved by the Russian bear, while a gigantic Cossack acts as cook. George Cruikshank now comes to the fore with "Boney hatching a Bulletin, or Snug Winter Quarters" (Walker and Knight). Napoleon and his soldiers are depicted as buried in snow up to the neck. One of them, whose head and shoulders protrude, asks the Emperor what should he put in the next bulletin. The Emperor replies: "Say!!! why, say we have got into comfortable winter quarters, and the weather is very fine and will last eight days longer. Say we have got plenty of soup *meagre*, plenty of mince-meat—grilled bear's fine eating—driving *Cut-us-off* [2] to the Devil. Say we shall be at home at Christmas to dinner. Give my love to darling. Don't let John Bull know that I've been cow-poxed. Tell a good lie about the Cossacks. D—n it, tell everything but the truth."

Napoleon had been nearly a fortnight in Paris, when a dozen caricatures on his disasters appeared in London during the first week of 1813. In "Cossacks Flying to Annoy. *Vide* Bonaparte's 28th Bulletin, dedicated to

[1] See *ante*, ch. xii. p. 280, "British Cookery, or Out of the Frying-pan into the Fire."

[2] Kutusoff, the Russian General who opposed Napoleon's advance.

DAVID pinxit — 1813 by G. Cruikshank
The HERO'S RETURN.
Disguiz'd with Long'd arms the man appears
Bent'd of his port, and shorten'd of his hairs
She scarcely knew him, straining to discern
His Veiled form, and doubtful to be known. Dryden's Virgil Book 8th
Publish'd by J. Fitzgerald, St James's St.
1st March 1813

By George Cruikshank, February 22, 1813

Napoleon the Great by his non-allie John Bull" (S. Knight, January 1), the false intelligence which had been published in France was held up to ridicule. In the *Satirist*[1] of the same day appeared George Cruikshank's "Quadrupeds, or Little Boney's last Kick," a plate which contains an amount of effective detail almost worthy of Gillray at his best. In the centre one sees the Russian bear castigating Napoleon, whom he holds by the foot, with a birch-rod. The Imperial wreath and sceptre lie on the ground by the side of a glowing dispatch. The Emperor cries: "Save me, save me from the big *bore*." A Russian is cooking a number of French soldiers in a stew-pan, while a whole regiment is engulfed in the waters of a river. In the background is a line of Cossacks riding at full speed. Platoff points to his daughter, while above their heads is a placard: "100,000 roubles and my daughter to any one who will bring Buonaparte, dead or alive." The Platoff legend is further illustrated in W. Elmes's "A Tit-Bit for a Cossack, or The Paltoff Prize for the Head of Bonaparte" (Tegg, January 4), now reproduced. In this print we see the fair daughter of the patriot Russian commander, clad in a blue furred gown and crimson mantle, holding a banner inscribed, "I, General Count Platoff, promise to give my daughter in marriage and 2000 rubles (*sic*) to any Cossack, Russian, Prussian, German, Swede, Turk, John Bull, Sawny Bull, Paddy Bull, or any other Bull who shall bring me the head of Boney, dead or alive." At her feet Cupid is drawing a bow, kneeling between two bags of roubles. At the back are seen the Russian cavalry in full pursuit, while the

[1] Vol. v. p. 1.

French Emperor runs over the snow exclaiming: "By gar, I had better be off!"

On New Year's Day Fores had delighted his patrons with the anonymous print, "Boney returning from Russia covered with Glory, leaving his Army in Comfortable Winter Quarters. Nap and Joe from France would go to fill the World with slaughter, Joe fell down and broke his crown and Nap came tumbling after." Napoleon is seen in a sledge with his aide-de-camp being driven furiously across the snow towards the frontier. The aide-de-camp, holding out a pen, says: "Will your Majesty write the Bulletin." The Emperor replies: "No, you write it. Tell them we left the Army all well in excellent quarters. I have almost completed the repose of Europe." A dying soldier cries from the snow, "Ah, sire, so dat John Bull says. I wish I could have some repose. I am tired of glory."[1] George Cruikshank now began to work almost exclusively for Humphrey, and on January 8 the plates "Specimens of Russian Chopping-Blocks" and "A Russian Boor returning from his Field Sports" were published at 27 St. James's Street. Both caricatures are stated to be from Russian originals and both have inscriptions in the two languages.[2] In the first a Russian peasant is seen in the act of attacking Napoleon with a hatchet, while two wounded French generals lie on the ground by his side. The Emperor tries vainly to ward off the blow with a standard. The boor says: "So you are the last. Now, Nap, return to Russia if you can." In

[1] *Cf.* Russian caricatures on the same theme, *post*, ch. xxiv.

[2] *Vide* ch. xxx. These plates were extensively reproduced by the Staffordshire potters.

the second plate three dead French soldiers are slung on the barrel of a boor's musket, while two others are transfixed by the bayonet. A child uses a French eagle as a hobby-horse. An inscription in Russian and English says: "As a curiosity for the children."

"Little Boney sneaking into Paris with a White Feather in his Tail" was the work of W. Elmes (Tegg, January 12). It relates to the occurrences of the night of December 18, 1812. Napoleon, a dark lantern in hand, approaches the carefully locked, barred, and barricaded gate of his capital, a half-starved Russian dog snarling at his heels. The sleepy sentry mutters: "It is only Count Vincen, *alias* Little Boney, the Imperial fugitive, returned from victory!" The Emperor, beneath his breath, says: "Hist! is that the croaking of frogs I hear? I mistake. It is only the sycophant lads in Paris hurraing at my unexpected and precipitate return. Thank my lucky star I've got out of the clutches of them (*sic*) d—d Cossack curs, or I should have been food for bears before this time!" [1]

No less than four caricatures of January 1813 relate to a narrow escape from capture by the Russians Napoleon is supposed to have met with during his retreat. The French Emperor had already arrived safely at the Tuileries when George Cruikshank supplied J. Johnston with "An Arch Design intended for Boney's Triumphal Entry into Paris!!!" A monumental arch fills the centre of the print. In the pediment is depicted a toad and a mushroom. From a gibbet at the apex hangs Fame

[1] See *ante*. Napoleon had assumed either the name of Caulaincourt, Duc de Vicenza, or that of his secretary; *cf.* several Russian caricatures described in ch. xxiv.

lap and a brush in his hand, rejoins: "Begar, me no can reach to shave de dam mustache of dat vile Regent for dis basin of water between us." The Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia crouch on low stools. The former dandles the King of Rome, kicked over by his father in his exertions to reach the Prince Regent, saying: "I am only half-shaved; when will my terrible son-in-law finish his job?" The latter, at whose feet lies the broken sword of Frederick the Great, exclaims: "Oh hone, I am shaved close enough." The Emperor of Russia, depicted on the same scale as the Regent, with a huge frozen beard, shouts: "No, Monsieur! by St. Alexander Newski, no shaving here." Murat, a grotesque booted and furred figure, holding a razor, propelled by a kick from the autocrat, says: "Ah, ah, foutre Bear, while I stoop for my razor I kick, and yet can't get away."[1]

On Valentine's Day 1813, the occurrences of November and December were not forgotten. On that day S. Knight published "Cossacks returning from the Field of Battle," with the lines:—

> "Says Humanity: Poet! your pen take and write,
> And to Boney a Valentine I will indite.
> It's done! And a Volunteer Job.
> Instead of your Eagles, may some Old Cossack
> By a fortunate blow lay you flat on your back,
> And present to Miss Platoff your Nob!"[2]

George Cruikshank's "The Hero's Return—David *pinxit*" (Humphrey, February 22), now reproduced,

[1] *Cf.* "Continental Shaving-Shop" (Sept. 1806), and "The Allies' Shaving-Shop" (Nov. 3, 1813).

[2] *Cf. ante*, "A Tit-Bit for a Cossack," and "Quadrupeds, or Little Boney's Last Kick."

HONEY and the GAY LADS of PARIS calculating for the next Triumphant entry into MOSCOW.

But take care Master Nap you meet with no trap

treats, on somewhat more serious lines, the irresistible topic of Napoleon's ignominious return. The artist depicts him, earless, noseless, and fingerless, approaching his affrighted wife and child, seated on the back of a Mameluke, to the evident terror of a bevy of Court ladies. Attendant Mamelukes bear the Emperor's *disjecta membra* in a bottle of spirits. The King of Rome refuses to be comforted, and a lap-dog barks vociferously. Below the print run the following lines :—

> "Dishonest, with lopped arms the man appears,
> Spoiled of his nose ! and shortened of his ears !
> She scarcely knew him, striving to disown
> His blotted form and blushing to be known."
>
> —DRYDEN, *Virgil*, Book VI.

Caricatures on the subject of Napoleon's retreat from Russia continued to appear during the first four months of 1813. The work done by Generals "Winter," "Frost," and "Famine" apparently took the English fancy almost as much as "Little Boney's" flat-bottomed boats and his volunteer adversaries had done ten years before. Mr. S. W. Fores,[1] the publisher of so many caricatures relating to Napoleon, reveals himself to us as a writer in the verses he supplied for the anonymous caricature "Boney and the Gay Lads of Paris calculating for the next Triumphal Entry into Moscow," which was now produced. The Emperor sits in his council chamber surrounded by his maimed, lamed, and noseless, frost-bitten, and otherwise afflicted marshals. He holds in his hands an estimate of the effective forces of Europe. One of the marshals, pointing to the map of Russia, says : "We had better go to St. Petersburg at once." Napoleon

[1] See *ante*, ch. iii.

replies: "Aye, and then we can march to Siberia and release the exiles, who will gladly join us and abjure their Tyrant." A marshal, who has lost his nose, hand, and fingers, exclaims: "*Sacré Dieu!* I no like the Russian campaign. I lost my nose, my fingers, and my toes in the last." No excuse need be made for quoting a few of the verses provided by the "Caricaturist to the First Consul":—

"Master Boney was fain, after fighting with Spain
And losing some thousands of men,
To make an attack on the Russian Cossack,
With Nations to assist him full ten.

He begun with a boast that he'd scour their coast,
And drive them all into the sea;
He continued his blow till he got to Moscow,
His designed winter quarters to be.

But when he got there, lord, how he did stare
To see the whole place in a flame;
Not a house for his head, not a rug for his bed,
Neither plunder, nor victuals, nor fame.

No! No! Mister Nap, you'll not feather your cap
Any more, for your race is now run;
And your murderous heart is destined, Bonaparte,
To suffer for crimes it has done.

Then ye Nations whose voice, through fear, not from choice,
To this Tyrant this homage has paid,
Join the brave Russian throng that your miseries ere long
May with Nap in oblivion be laid."

Early in the year 1813 a visit of some of the Cossacks to London may have suggested the plate, "John Bull and the Cossacks," etched by Brooke for the *Satirist* of May 1.[1] A party of Russians is supposed to arrive in

[1] Vol. xii. p. 393.

By Brooke, May 1, 1813

London, bringing Bonaparte's hat on a lance, to the huge delight of John Bull, who says: "I wish his head had been in it, with all my heart and soul! I am glad to see you, my very good friends." To which Mrs. Bull rejoins: "La! Sure, such fine beards and whiskers! Bond Street is nothing to them. Do but lookee, John—now lookee." The Cossack says: "The rascal himself made his escape from Justice! I was just in time to run my spear through his hat."

A number of the Cruikshank caricatures are said to be "from Russian originals," and colour is given to the assertion both by the long delay in their publication and the Russian prints in possession of the writer. "Napoleon's Fame" (Humphrey, May 10) is a good example of these Anglo-Russian prints. In this the inscription is bilingual. In the centre stands, on a heap of skulls, a winged female figure with a robe sprinkled with bees. In her right hand is a trumpet which a Russian *moujik* is choking with snow. In the other hand is a wreath which a Cossack destroys with his knout, while a soldier with the point of his bayonet removes the mask which represented Fame, disclosing behind it the face and serpent hair of a Fury. The Fury's tail shows from under the robe. The Russian words run: "Found out! The soldier with his bayonet has removed the mask. The Cossack with his knout has scattered the laurel wreath. 'Basil Frost' (Jack Frost) has blocked her loud trumpet with snow."

It is certainly from the same source that Cruikshank received the inspiration for his "Russians teaching Boney to dance" (Humphrey, May 15), and "French

Generals Retreating" (Humphrey, May 30).[1] Of the eight caricatures on the subject of the Russian Campaign published as a series by Tegg, "Gasconaders, or The Grand Army retreats from Moscow" (No. 6, May) is a fair example. The horrors of the retreat are depicted in the most gruesome manner. The starving soldiers and generals cry: "Where is the great Napoleon?" To which is replied: "Allons, march! de grand Napoleon commands we plunder, burn, and ravish everything. *Allons courage; marchez vite.*" Under are the lines :—

> "So Satan, when repulse upon repulse that ever,
> And to shameful silence brought, yet gives
> Not o'er, though desperate of success."

The titles of these eight plates are :—

1. "Parting of Hector and Andromache."
2. "Napoleon Reviewing his Grand Army."
3. "Nap's Heroes."
4. "Napoleon Omnipotent."
5. "Warm Winter Quarters."
6. "Gasconaders."
7. "Nap nearly Nab'd."
8. "Nap's Glorious Return."

W. Elmes provided Tegg with the design for "Cossack Sports, or The Platoff hounds in full cry after the French Game" (November 9). Napoleon, as a Corsican fox and commanding an army of frogs, is seen in full flight, pursued by Platoff, his daughter, and a number of Cossacks. In the background figure the walls and towers of Leipzic. Platoff shouts exultingly: "Hark, forward, my boys, get along. He runs in view. Yoici! Yoici! (*sic*). There he

[1] *Cf.* Russian caricatures in ch. xxiv.

I'll Extinguish your little Frenchs—
Farthing—Rushlight—Master Boney.
Death and Fury!—how I burn with Rage—those
Frightful Contemptable Cossacks
has Clouded all my hopes.
Price One Shilling Coloured
The COSSACK EXTINGUISHER.

By W. Elmes, November 10, 1813

goes! Tally-ho!" One of the Cossacks responds: "Hi, ho! Tally-ho! for a Husband!" Napoleon says: "Hark! I hear the cry of Cossacks. They have got the scent of me! I must take to my heels once more. They are close to my brush." [1]

To Elmes must also be credited "The Cossack Extinguisher" (Tegg, November 10), now reproduced. A gigantic Cossack places his furred cap by way of an extinguisher over Napoleon's head. In the background may be seen the walls, towers, &c., of Leipzic. The Cossack says: "I'll extinguish your little French farthing rushlight, Master Boney." The French Emperor in despair exclaims: "Death and fury! How I burn with rage. Those frightful—contempable (*sic*) Cossacks has (*sic*) clouded all my hope." [2]

One of the last of the long series of caricatures relating to the retreat from Moscow is the anonymous print "The Corsican Mad Dog, or The Hopeful Destroyer of the Human Race" (Fores, November 16). In it we see Napoleon, as a white dog, with a portrait-head and the ribbon of the Legion of Honour, being chased back to France by a group of Russians, Spaniards, and Germans. The crown of France trembles on his tail; the crowns of Rome, Italy, Holland, and Spain are falling on the road. A Cossack is spearing the fugitive conscripts in the background. A Dutchman points a pistol at him from behind a cask of Hollands. Below are these words: "Mr. Pitt, in reply to one of the Jacobinical Speaches (*sic*) made

[1] *Cf.* "A Tit-Bit for a Cossack," "Quadrupeds, or Little Boney's Last Kick," and "Cossacks returning from the Field of Battle." *Cf.* also "Death of the Corsican Fox" (1803 and 1815), "Coming in at the Death of the Corsican Fox" (1814).

[2] *Cf.* French caricatures, ch. xix. and xx.

by the Opposition respecting the Futility of this Country, Prophetically asserted that ' The energies of this Country will one Day afford an Example for all other Nations to Emulate and be roused by the Energies of their own to Assert and secure their Independance (*sic*). Behold, ye Jacobins, and wonder and perish, Despisers ! "

When the last of these caricatures made their appearance Wellington had won the Battle of Vittoria (June 21), and Napoleon had sustained a crushing defeat at Leipzic (October 16–18). The energies of the European nations were indeed asserting themselves, and the fulfilment of Pitt's forecast was only the matter of a few short months. It was indeed " the beginning of the end," but on November 16, when London was laughing at " The Corsican Mad Dog," Napoleon was at St. Cloud, apparently unconscious of the evil to come, and enjoyed several hours' hunting on the Satory plain.

CHAPTER XV

ENGLISH CARICATURES RELATING TO EUROPE'S REVOLT AGAINST NAPOLEON, THE GERMAN UPRISING, THE CAMPAIGNS IN SAXONY, AND THE INVASION OF FRANCE BY THE ALLIES (JANUARY 7, 1813, TO APRIL 1814)

"High deeds, O Germans, are to come from you!
Thus in your books the records shall be found,
'A watchword was pronounced, a potent sound,
Arminius!—all the people quaked like dew
Stirred by the breeze—they rose a nation true,
True to herself—the mighty Germany.
She of the Danube and the Northern sea,
She rose, and off at once the yoke she threw.'"

—WORDSWORTH, *A Prophecy*, 1807.

"Whilst Napoleon shall continue to declare that none of the territories arbitrarily incorporated into the French Empire shall become matters of negociation . . . it is for His Imperial Majesty to consider whether the moment is not arrived for all the Great Powers of Europe to act in concert for their common interests and honour."—*Lord Castlereagh to Lord Walpole, April* 9, 1813.

"To accept a peace dictated by Napoleon is to rear a sepulchre for Europe; and if this misfortune happens, only England and Sweden can remain intact."—*Bernadotte to the Czar Alexander, June* 10, 1813.

DURING the first months of 1813, while the English caricaturists of Napoleon were busily engaged in ridiculing the disasters of the Russian Campaign, and the circumstances which attended his somewhat ignominious return to Paris, Napoleon was occupied in getting together as rapidly as possible another army to replace that which had, to all intents and purposes, vanished from the face

of the earth. Never did Napoleon show himself greater than he did at this critical moment, when the dangers of another Coalition of the European Powers against him stared him in the face. He was still busy holding councils and drilling his conscripts, when he learned that Russia and Prussia had, on February 27, signed a treaty of alliance at Kalisch. It must not be forgotten that, ever since June 18, 1812, England had been at war with the United States. As Secretary of State, James Maddison, the third President in succession to Washington, had carried on frequent controversies with both England and France as to the rights of neutrals, and although, after his succession to the Presidency, he had not followed the rigid embargo policy of his predecessor Jefferson, he at last recommended Congress to declare war. In 1813 he was re-elected, and hostilities continued until the conclusion of the Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814, which, however, left one of the main questions of dispute unsettled. In England Maddison (whose name easily lent itself to absurd distortions) was regarded as a sympathiser with Napoleon, and while the Emperor, as "Count de Vicenza," was posting back to Paris, George Cruikshank's caricature, "A Sketch for the Regent's Speech, or Mad-ass-on's Insanity," was published by Walker and Knight. To the left of the print Britannia is depicted in the act of holding back the British Lion, which menaces a group of soldiers, women, and children, in the midst of which stands an American Indian, holding the Stars and Stripes surmounted by a Phrygian cap. In the right-hand corner can be read the words: "Motto —Touch me not—and think to go unpunished. Translated for the benefit of Mr. Mad-ass-on and party."

Above the central group is a figure of Fame, with a trumpet and flag inscribed "General Hull and his Army taken prisoners. General Wadsworth's Army defeated —900 prisoners." In the lower right-hand corner stands unfortunate Maddison, between Napoleon and the Devil. From Fame's trumpet the words "D—n bad news for you" are levelled at the President's head, who cries, alluding to the disputes about the neutral ships, "'Tis you two that have brought this disgrace upon me. Support me or I sink." Napoleon replies deprecatingly: "I suffer greater hardships than you, but the Devill will help us both." The Devil, in view of the havoc wrought in Russia by "General Frost," rejoins: "I must carry them to Hell *to cure their chilblains.*"

On January 10 the French Senate promised the Emperor 350,000 conscripts, which were soon to replace the tribulations of the Russian winter as a favourite theme for British satire. Even after the Convention of Tauroggen, entered into between the Prussian General Yorck and the Russians (December 30, 1812), Napoleon declined to realise either the gravity of the situation or the duplicity of Hardenberg and Metternich. The latter saw that the "day of final deliverance was at hand," and the Czar, knowing full well that the overthrow of Napoleon would give him a free hand to deal with Poland, resolved to press on (January 13) and take full advantage of the present "brilliant" situation. The teaching of Stein, Arndt, Fichte, and Körner had done its work, and Germany was ready for high deeds. On February 3 Hardenberg was allowed to issue an appeal for volunteers. On March 17 Russia and Prussia agreed at Breslau to liberate Germany from the influence of

France. It was followed by a *levée en masse*, despite the gloomy vaticinations of Goethe. Tettenborn's Cossacks expelled Augereau's corps from Berlin. Yet Napoleon still continued to put his trust in his father-in-law and the Austrians. On April 25 Napoleon once again reached Erfurt, but there was no longer any "*parlers* of kings" to greet him. He found himself face to face with the hatred of uprisen Germany—a hatred as intense as that which filled the heart of Blücher. On May 2 the Battle of Lutzen ended with a slight advantage to the French, despite the heroic efforts of Blücher, Scharnhorst and Gneisenau. From May 10 to 18 Napoleon was at Dresden, and on May 19–20 the Battle of Bautzen, in which Duroc perished, was fought with a result scarcely more decisive than at Lutzen. Napoleon felt he must gain time, and on June 4 an armistice for two months was agreed to. On March 3 England had concluded the Treaty of Stockholm with Bernadotte, who landed at Stralsund on May 18, with 24,000 troops, and a stern determination to make no terms with Napoleon. At his suggestion Moreau was recalled from America. On June 27 the Treaty of Reichenbach was concluded between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. England had already agreed to pay enormous subsidies both to Russia and Prussia. On the previous day Napoleon had seen Metternich at Dresden. He had repented himself of his marriage with Marie Louise. The news of Vittoria reached the Czar at Trachenberg on July 12, where he was busily engaged in his negotiations with the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and Bernadotte. A Te Deum was sung, and on that very day the compact of Trachenberg was signed. It contained a comprehensive

plan for the overthrow of Napoleon. In view of such an agreement the proceedings of the Congress at Prague were unimportant. Napoleon had resolved to defy united Europe.

His plan, as Dr. J. Holland Rose puts it, was to overthrow Russia and Prussia, while, for a week or two, he amused Austria with separate overtures at Prague.[1] On August 10 hostilities were resumed. The Emperor's *fête* was on that account celebrated at Dresden instead of on the 15th. It was the prologue of the drama, to which the catastrophe of Leipzic (October 16–18) supplied the epilogue. On November 9 Napoleon reached St. Cloud. While the Allies were preparing to invade France, he presided over innumerable councils at Paris, but in the interval of business hunted and visited the theatres and opera as usual. On the last day of the year he dissolved the Corps Législatif. He would face the inevitable alone. It was with bitter denunciations of the refractory representatives of the people that he began the year of Elba.

The satirical prints relating to the retreat from Moscow, published in 1813, have been discussed at length in the preceding chapter. Amongst the first English caricatures against Napoleon in this year was one relating to the *impasse* to which the economic war with England had brought him. Not only had he been compelled to secretly obtain supplies of boots and clothing for the troops from the country he had sworn to strangle by his European blockade, but he was now issuing "licences to smuggle," as a means of recruiting his own Treasury and lessening the evils occasioned by the

[1] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. p. 325.

abnormally high prices of colonial produce. In this anonymous print (January 27) Napoleon is depicted in the act of putting a document, which he takes furtively from the English President of the Board of Control, into a basket already half filled with French licences. Napoleon cries: "Ah, the bubble is as good as my Russian campaign." About this time Napoleon had several interviews with Pope Pius VII. in the hope of arranging a *modus vivendi*. This explains W. Elmes's caricature (Tegg, January 12) "The Oath of Allegiance to the Infant King of Rome." The heir to the Imperial throne, with a rattle in one hand and a sabre in the other, sits astride the cross of the Papal tiara, placed before a throne on which Napoleon and Marie Louise are seated side by side. The former holds in his hand the oath of allegiance. At his feet kneels the Pope and several attendant ecclesiastics. His pontifical cross is broken, and he kisses the proffered weapon. The thunderstruck churchmen look on in dismay, while Marie Louise points triumphantly to her son. George Cruikshank treated somewhat differently the same theme in his plate "The Trip-hell Alliance" (S. Knight, March 3). In the centre of the plate is a winged and hoofed devil, who is apparently inducing Napoleon to kiss the foot of the Pope, who is lying on the ground, with the Concordat underneath him. To the right, with a background of flames, is a three-headed beast, representing apparently the Emperor, the Pope, and the Devil. The Devil says: "Kiss his Holiness's toe, friend Boney, to show your sincerity, and carry your sins to my account!" The Pope says: "You have sold yourself to the Devil and trod upon the cross; you

By W. Elmes, January 12, 1813

have worshipped Mahomet, and even the Polish Jews have forsaken you. Now, forsooth, you would liberate me to give you absolution!" From the mouth of the beast came the word: "I'm in a devil of a scrape between you both. We had better forgive each other and make a triple alliance against the world."

As might be expected, the question of the boy conscripts soon attracted attention in London, and W. Elmes's caricature on the subject (T. Tegg, February 23) is on humorous lines. Napoleon, mounted on a jackass, is leading a posse of soldiers in tatters towards a river, on the banks of which he is confronted by a regiment of pipe-smoking Dutchmen mounted on frogs. The same industrious artist is responsible for a somewhat belated caricature on the subject of Napoleon's collision with the Corps Législatif—"Bonaparte addressing the Legislative Body" (Tegg, February 24). Napoleon, in ragged coat and patched breeches partially concealed by his imperial mantle, addresses the representatives on the subject of his Russian disasters. He concludes by saying: "I have signed with the Pope a Concordat which terminates all the differences that unfortunately had arisen with the Church. The French dynasty reigns and will reign in Spain. I am satisfied with all my allies. I will abandon none of them. The Russians will return to their frightful climate."

George Cruikshank lost no time in tackling the congenial subject of the boy-soldiers. In his "French Conscripts for the years 1820–1–2–3–4 and 5, marching to join the Grand Army," we see Napoleon in a still more deplorable condition. Noseless, and with one arm, one eye, wooden legs, and a shot-riddled hat, the

Emperor thus addresses a number of small children grotesquely attired in military uniforms: "Come along, my pretty little heroes, I will lead you to the horrible climate. There you shall see the dancing bears and play at snowballs, and you shall get all the nice sugar-plums, and if you behave yourselves like good children, you may perhaps get a pair of pretty wooden legs, and your heads covered with nice patches of glory."

The anonymous print, "John Bull Teased by an Earwig" (W. Holland), published at this time, affords an instance of the re-issue of one of the caricatures of 1803. In 1813, as in 1803, a conference was in prospect. Napoleon, represented by a tiny figure perched on the shoulder of John Bull, a corpulent giant, prods his ear with a sword, saying: "I will have the cheese, you brute, you! I have a great mind to annihilate you, you great overgrown monster!" To which John Bull rejoins: "I tell you what, governor! If you won't let me eat my bread and cheese in comfort, I'll blow you away, depend upon it!" On a table to the left is a foaming tankard, some bread and cheese, a copy of the *True Briton*, and a paper of short-cut tobacco.

On July 1 W. H. Brooks contributed to the *Satirist*[1] the plate "Tragedy and Comedy." It deals brutally with the death of Duroc at Bautzen, on May 20. A devil of singularly forbidding appearance hovers over a group consisting of Napoleon and Duroc—the latter lies dying on the ground bleeding, his broken sword by his side. Napoleon is weeping profusely and holds a handkerchief to his eyes. Duroc says: "Dear

[1] Vol. xiii. p. 1.

PREPARING JOHN BULL for GENERAL CONGRESS.

master, in this world I have served you right well. Have you any commands for the other?" The Emperor replies: "Dear Duroc, I need not your interest in hell. For the devil is my best friend and brother." Whitbread is seen mounted on a barrel, porter-pot in hand, crying, "Here's down with the plume," while the Regent and his three brothers are struggling to weigh down the Catholic and Protestant Balance. The Duke of Sussex is resplendent in a gorgeous apron as Grand Master of Freemasons, having just accomplished the Union of the Two Grand Lodges.

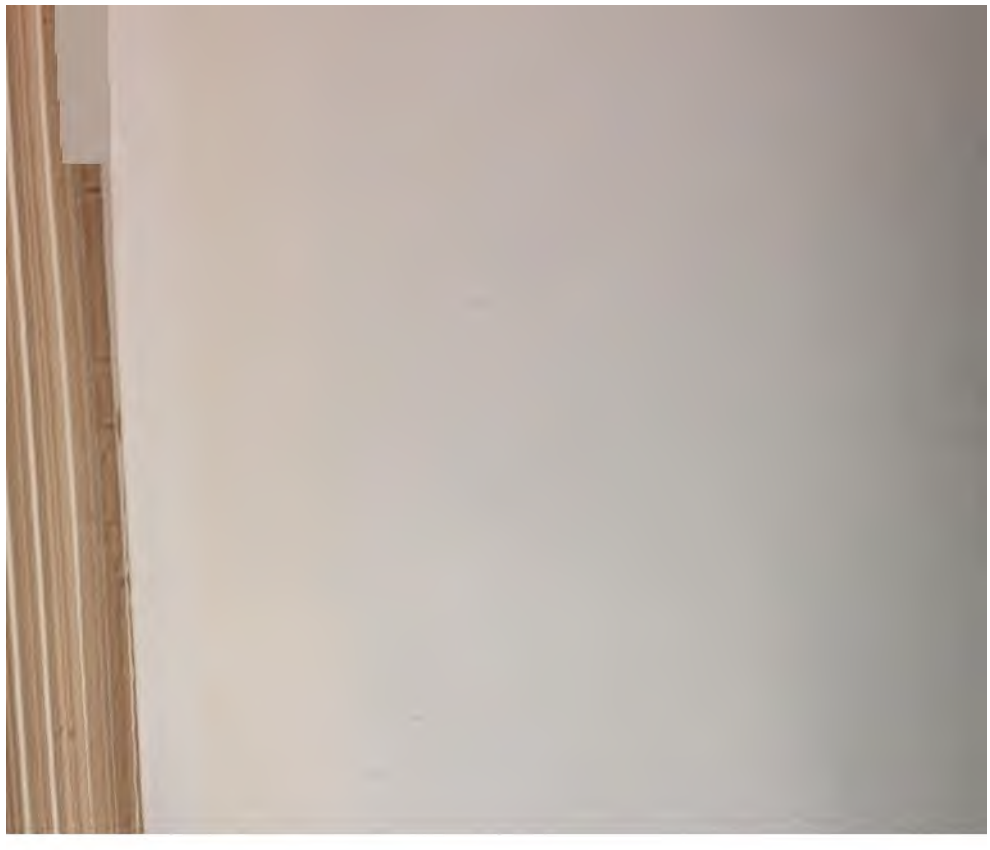
The anonymous caricature, "The Armistice, or Thoughts in Council" (Harword & Co.), which appeared in the summer of 1813, satirises, in a plate divided into six compartments, the two months' armistice of June 4. In the first of these the *dramatis personæ* are Napoleon, a French marshal, and the Devil. The first says: "Moskowa, to gain time is all. Two more such victories as Lützen and Bautzen would have ruined me. I'll try to cajole Alexander and Francis, and then foolish Prussia shall go to the devil. But there's that d—d John Bull. Do what I will, go where I will, he always haunts me. He's my only torment, except my conscience!" The devil says: "I'll tell ye what, Boney, if you don't put an end to your butchering system, at least for the present, I'll put an end to you. You send so many of your ragged rascals to my infernal regions, they'll breed a contagion in hell. There's such a swarm of them, they've sunk old Charon's boat and are kicking up hell's delight. I'm absolutely not master of my own place!" The marshal says: "Sire, between two such councillors as you now are, I presume you may be a match for all of us." In

the other sections figure Lord Cathcart, the Emper Alexander, Blücher, Talleyrand, Josephine, &c. In on is seen the Emperor of Austria seated between tw Ambassadors, one of whom holds forth the proposal of Napoleon and the other those of the Emper Alexander. Francis says: "Which way shall I turn My daughter's dear, my nation's dear; 'tis hard to fin the strongest side; 'tis hard to watch the wily fox; 'tis wise to soothe the Prussian bear. Francis, arouse or b for ever fallen." In the sixth section Bernadotte is seen seated at a table holding the Articles of Armistice. He says: "What a lucky thing this Armistice! I was at a loss to amuse John Bull any longer; now I shall touch his subsidy very snug, 200,000 per month. Ha! ha! enough to make me independent, should my Swedish papa and I disagree, which is very likely. Enough to make it up with Boney. Then we can go halves, and laugh at the silly English!"

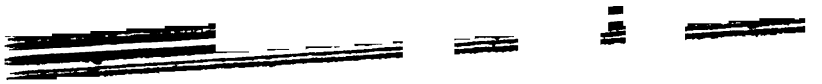
George Cruikshank's fine caricature, "Preparing John Bull for the General Congress," appeared in the *Scourge* of August 2.[1] It is now reproduced in facsimile. In this plate the perplexities of Great Britain at this juncture are very happily and wittily depicted. In the left-hand corner is the American ship *President* flying the Stars and Stripes. The Captain, in the act of discharging a toy-gun, exclaims: "D—n that Bull-Dog the *Shannon;* he has gored the *Cheesapeak*. If the English Ministers will but keep him out of our way we'll pepper his leg." To which the bull-dog, who is muzzled and bears on his back the words "British Navy," rejoins: "Take off my muzzle. Let me get at him. Bow, wow, wow."

[1] Vol. vi. p. 86.

ORIGINAL SKETCH FOR A TRANSPARENCY, 1814.



Anonymous caricature of December 9, 1813



The left hand and arm of John Bull (Hanover), having been cut off, is being carried to Bonaparte in his tent. Seated on a drum, the apparently jubilant Emperor has one foot on the globe, while behind him is a cannon guarded by his attendant Mameluke. Napoleon says: "When you have finished your labours, gentlemen, bring him to me and I will prepare his epitaph." A devil is drawing gold from John Bull's side, labelled "Swedish Tap-Tub"; a soldier is pulling Guadaloupe forcibly from his mouth. It is not to be wondered at that John Bull in despair cries out to his tormentors, while Free Trade and Monopoly are tugging at his foot, "Have mercy on me, and do not send me thus maimed to Congress. I can hardly distinguish Friend from Foe in the severity of my sufferings."

The anxiety of England was unnecessary, for the Congress of Prague was dissolved on August 10. There had been a talk of a Congress of *all* the Powers at this time, but it never came off. The allusion to Guadeloupe is explained by Bernadotte having obtained its cession by the Treaty of Stockholm. Castlereagh's efforts to diminish the privileges of the East India Company, and the threatening attitude of the United States towards the West Indies, are also dealt with. It must be remembered that, on June 1, 1813, H.M.S. *Shannon* had captured the *Chesapeake;* hence the growl of the British bull-dog for a free hand.

In the November issue of the *Satirist*,[1] George Cruikshank once more returns to the topic of the boy-soldiers now laying down their lives in Saxony as a sacrifice to Napoleon's insane ambition. In "Comparative Anatomy,

[1] Vol xiii. p. 377.

or Bone—ny's New Conscripts filling up the *Skeleton* of the Old Regiments," he contrived to produce a striking caricature, notwithstanding the gruesomeness of the details. A standard-bearer holding the Eagle exclaims: "Sacré Dieu! but 'tis the force of a Boney-party." Napoleon is commanding the filling up of the skeletons while a huge Mameluke, scimitar in hand, looks on at the proceedings with evident interest.

The news of the crowning triumph of the Allies at Leipzic (October 16–18) soon reached London. It seemed as if Metternich's "day of deliverance" had really come. There were illuminations in London and throughout England, but it was not till November 5—a singularly appropriate date—that the loyal Ackermann was able to display, on the façade of his Repository in the Strand, Rowlandson's transparency, "The Two Kings of Terror." It was soon after published as a popular caricature. Napoleon, seated on a drum, looks fixedly at the figure of Death on a cannon opposite him. At their feet lies a French eagle broken in two. The French soldiers fall before the Allies advancing in serried ranks, their banners flying. In the text, allusion is made to the use of gas, "which, proceeding from mere vapour, affords a dazzling light, which can be soon extinguished." The drum is supposed to typify "the hollow and noisy nature of the Usurper."

This was not the only commission which fell to Rowlandson by reason of the Leipzic rejoicings. On November 27 Ackermann published "The Execution of two Celebrated Enemies of Old England and their dying speeches." The one was Guido Fawkes, the other Napoleon, the guy *par excellence* of that particular

November. The artist depicts them hanging on gibbets over bonfires, around which dances a jubilant crowd. The following information is given below :—

" Bonfire at Thorpe Hall, near Louth, Lincolnshire, on November 5, 1813, given by the Reverend W. C.,[1] to the boys belonging to the seminary at Louth in consequence of the arrival of news of the decisive defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte by the Allies, at 11 o'clock P.M. on the 4th (November), Louth bells ringing all night. Napoleon Bonaparte's dying speech: 'I, Napoleon Bonaparte, flattered by all the French nation that I was invincible, have most cruelly and most childishly attempted the subjugation of the world. I have lost my fleets, I have lost the largest and finest armies ever heard of, and I am now become the indignation of the world and the scorn and sport of boys. Had I not spurned the firm wisdom of the Rt. Honble. Mr. Pitt, I might have secured a honourable peace. I might have governed the greatest nation. But, alas, my ambition has deceived me and Pitt's plans have ruined me.' "

Leipzic was the signal for another deluge of caricatures. Within a very few days of the authentic intelligence reaching London appeared in rapid succession, " Emperor Boney escaping from Leipzic under Cover " (by G. Cruikshank, S. Knight, November 8) ; " Caterers—

[1] The Rev. J. Foster, D.C.L., of Tathwell, Louth, identifies the Rev. " W. C." with the Rev. William Chaplin, M.A., who resided for many years at Thorpe Hall and was Chaplain to the Prince Regent. There is a tablet to his memory in Tathwell Church. Mr. Foster thinks the seminary spoken of was Dr. Mapletoft's School, founded in 1774, the head-master of which in 1813 was the Rev. Thomas Espin. Mr. Foster points out that the bell-ringing on Nov. 4, 1813, must have been attended with some difficulties, as the great bell had been cracked during the peals rung in honour of the Battle of the Nile and was not repaired till 1818.

Boney dished. A Bonne Bouche for Europe" (Knight, November 10); "The Daw Stript of Borrowed Plumes" (Knight, November 10); Rowlandson's "The Norwich Bull Feast, or Glory and Gluttony" (Tegg, November 22), and "The Allies Shaving-Shop, or Boney in the Suds" (S. Knight, November 23). In Cruikshank's plate the Church of Rome, personified as an old woman, is frightened out of her wits by Napoleon's attempt to hide himself beneath her skirts. In the anonymous print of the "Caterers" a table is seen, around which are gathered all the powers of Europe. On it is an enormous dish, in the centre of which is Napoleon, surrounded by his pinioned marshals. The chair to the right, with the British royal arms on the back, is occupied by the Prince Regent, with a large bag of money, labelled "Subsidies," on his knee. On the left is seated the Emperor Alexander, who, pointing exultingly to the dish, says: "I think, brother of Austria, this dish will be relished by all Europe;" to which Francis replies: "And I think, brother of Russia, they will admire the *garnish.*" The Kings of Saxony, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria express a hope that they may be allowed to join in the dish, which Italy declares is better than macaroni. The King of Prussia thinks it too highly seasoned for any taste but French. Switzerland protests that William Tell never invented anything better; but the Prince Regent says: "We must reduce the quantity of irritating articles before we can produce it as a finished dish." Bernadotte expresses his approval, saying that John Bull prefers moderation.

As far back as 1797 the corpulent King of Wurtemberg (then only a duke) had, on the occasion of his marriage to the Princess Royal of England, formed the subject of

several caricatures by Gillray and Cruikshank. By the Treaty of Presburg he had been granted the kingly dignity. His daughter had married Napoleon's younger brother Jerome, and his fidelity to Napoleon had stood the test of many severe trials. On his hurried journey back to Paris from Leipzic Napoleon halted for a night at Frankfort (October 31). There is said to have occurred the incident forming the basis of the anonymous caricature, "Tom Thumb and the Giant on a forced march to Frankfort" (November 1813). In this Napoleon on horseback is depicted as pointing with his sword to the unwieldy figure of George III.'s son-in-law, saying: "On, Sir, to Frankfort and there await my coming!" To which the King replies: "Well, I am going as fast as I can. Pretty work this for a man of my importance!! Was it for this you put a crown upon my head?" Below the title are the words: "A letter from Stralsund states that Bonaparte on his journey to Paris sent a courier to the King of Wurtemberg with orders for him to proceed to Frankfort-on-the-Main, and the latter would meet him there accordingly. Kings are his centinels. *Vide* Sheridan's speech."

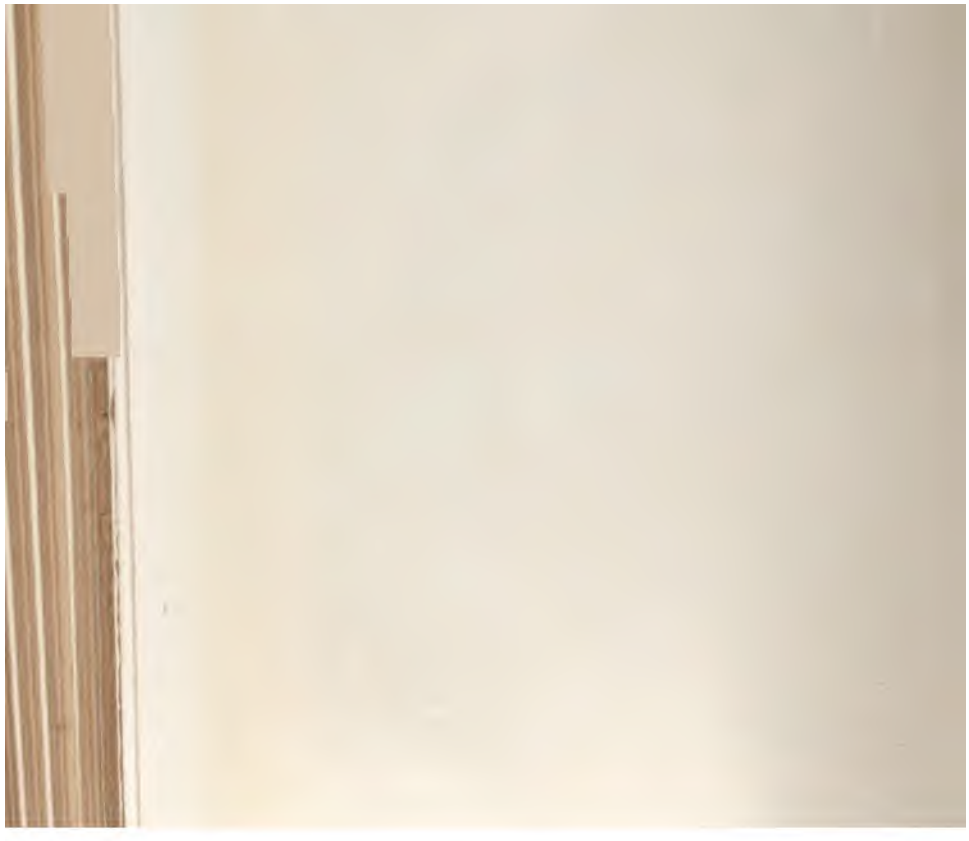
Rowlandson was unusually active at this juncture, and evidently did his utmost to supply Ackermann's demand. That a Dutch uprising was considered imminent is clearly shown by his "The Corsican Toad under the Harrow" (Ackermann, November 27). Holland is shown as considerably increasing the sufferings of Napoleon by sitting on a harrow which is being dragged over him by the Powers, while Russia prods him with a pike. The prostrate Emperor exclaims: "O! this heavy Dutchman! Had I not enough to bear before?"

Napoleon was soon to pay the penalty of the Continental System. Two days later the same publisher produced "Dutch Nightmare, or The Fraternal Hug returned with a Dutch Squeeze" (November 29). On December 1 the proprietors of *Town Talk* published "Gasconading, *alias* The Runaway Emperor humbugging the Senate," the authorship of which was not disclosed.[1] In the centre of this the Emperor stands before the throne, from behind which the devil peeps out. Two mamelukes are on either side of him. To the left a number of soldiers hold up trophies, and blue flags lettered "Bavaria." The Emperor, addressing the assembled Senators, clad in crimson robes with armorial shields on their shoulders, says: "Senators,—The glorious success of our arms has forced me to give way to the impulse of quitting the field of honour that I might have the satisfaction of presenting to my faithful Senate the glorious trophies of our victories." The foremost Senator replies: "Great Emperor of the great Nation,—The Senate devotes their lives and properties to your service." The devil exclaims: "That's right, my boy. Humbug them out of mother conscription to send me before you come yourself." On the same day the *Satirist*[2] published anonymously "The Tiger Hunt," in which Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, and Bavaria, armed with spears, on some of which are inscribed the names of recent successes, are driving the wounded Imperial Tiger across the Rhine.

[1] Napoleon returned to Paris on Nov. 9, but there is no mention of any address to the Senate in the *Itinéraire Général*. On Dec. 1 Napoleon held a meeting of the Council of Ministers and one of the Council on Army Clothing, and in the evening attended a performance of "Cleopatra" at the Opera.

[2] Vol. xiii. p. 473.

THE DEVILS DARLING.



A somewhat lengthy description ends with the words, "Oh, that a Pitt and a Percival, the champions of fair and *real* liberty, could for a moment awake from their sleep of death, and behold the glorious fulfilment of those hopes they cherished in their lives, the pure undeniable triumph of that hallowed cause they would have purchased by their death."

Another anonymous caricature of December 1 (T. Tegg), "Grasp all, lose all, Atlas enraged, or The Punishment of Unqualified Ambition," is equally severe on the defeated Emperor, against whom the armies of Silesia and Bohemia are now preparing to advance westwards. Atlas lets fall the terrestrial globe on Napoleon, saying: "When the friends of freedom and peace have stop'd your shaking it on my shoulders and got their own again, I'll bear it; till then you may carry it yourself, Master Boney." Napoleon shrieks: "France be mine! Holland be mine! Italy be mine! Spain and Poland be mine! Russia, Prussia, Turkey, de whole world vill be mine!!! Monsieur Atlas, hold up; don't let it fall on me." Two generals run away lest they be crushed by the catastrophe.

The story of the bridge of Leipzic was deftly utilised by the satirist, as that of the bridge of Aspern had been four years before. It is the motive of the anonymous caricature in eight sections, "Bonaparte's Bridge, to the tune of 'This is the House that Jack Built'" (Tegg, December 1), when completed the verses read:—

"These are the Monarchs, so generous and brave,
Who conquered the Tyrant and liberty gave,
To thousands and thousands who cursed the day
Which made him an Emperor who scampered away

And left the Marshal of high degree
To whisper the Colonel of Infantry
To order the Corporal stout and strong
To fire the mine with his match so long,
That was made by the miners who had the care
Of mining the Bridge that was blown into air."

In "Napoléon le Grande" (*sic*) (Ackermann, December 2), Rowlandson cleverly parodied a print "designed by Dabos and drawn by Tardieu."[1] The decollated head of Napoleon is impaled on a pole fixed to the upper portion of the globe. It is flanked on either side by eagles supporting a curtain inscribed "Napoléon le grand." A bundle of trophies is marked "Flags manufactured for the Empress." Below run the lines, taken from the original :—

"Astre, brillant, immense, il éclaire, il féconde,
Et seul fait, à son gré, tous les destins du monde."

Around the Imperial head is a circle of entwined snakes; above, at the top, is a devil's face crowned and inscribed "Damnation"; while below it are two shields displaying a vulture and the heart of Tyranny. From Napoleon's head beams radiate in all directions bearing inscriptions relating to his real or imaginary crimes. The words *Déposé à la Bibliothèque Imperiale* lead us to think that a caricature of this kind must also have been published in France.

It is necessary to pass over a large number of these caricatures of exultation. The national enemy had sustained a "knock-down blow," and, as John Bull had to a great extent paid the piper, he rejoiced to the top of his bent, and his jubilation had apparently certain

[1] Laurent Dabos was the author of the celebrated symbolical picture of the "Sun" Napoleon in apotheosis, the face only being drawn by Tardieu.

sympathisers in Paris itself. Hence the caricature now reproduced, "Un Empire à vendre. Un Empereur à pendre. Une Impératrice à rendre," now reproduced (Fores, December 9). The Emperor, insulted by a Dutch pug, stands below a gallows. The Empress is weeping. Behind her is seen the "Road to Viania" (*sic*). Talleyrand, wearing a Papal tiara, is signing a decree for new levies. Above are the words: "This placard was posted on the walls of Paris"; below "*Vide* placards posted in Paris."

"The New Consular Waltz" of 1803 is once more utilised,[1] and in "Friends and Foes, up he Goes" (Ackermann, December 12), we see the delighted nations of Europe tossing their foe in a blanket. Napoleon shouts, "O Misericorde!" To make the import still clearer a sub-title, "Friend and Foes sending the Corsican Munchausen to St. Cloud," is provided.

George Cruikshank surpassed himself in "Bleeding and Warm Water, or The Allied Doctors bringing Boney to his Senses" (Tegg, December 12). Napoleon is depicted sitting on a stool of repentance in a "sea of troubles," which fills a bath, surrounded by the ruins of Moscow. While Spain applies to his back a plaster of Spanish flies, John Bull thrusts into his mouth a huge pill, lettered "Invasion of France"; a Cossack prods him with a lance, and Bernadotte catches the blood in a basin. A medicine chest is filled with instruments of torture. Holland pours "Dutch drops," in the shape of armed manikins, over his head, while Russia is about to apply a hempen scourge. The victim screams: "Hence with your medicines! They but drive me mad. Curse on your Dutch drops, your Leipsic blister, and your Spanish

[1] See *ante*, ch. ix. p. 174.

flies. They have fretted me to death. . . . But I will struggle; I will still be great. Myriads of Frenchmen will still uphold the glory of my name, the grandeur of my throne, and write my disgrace in the hearts of wretched creatures of English gold." The motive of a thousand French caricatures was not forgotten in the hour of retribution. In "Political Chemists and German Retorts, or Dissolving the Rhenish Confederacy" (Ackermann, December 12), Rowlandson portrays the situation with the hand of a master. Napoleon is supposed to have been placed in a large glass bowl fixed to the top of a German stove, with which are connected six retorts inscribed "Intrigue and Villany," "Ambition and Folly," "Gasconnade and Lies," "Arrogance and Atrocity," "Fire and Sword," "Murder and Plunder." John Bull is supplying fuel from his coal tub, while Holland stimulates the flame with his bellows. Bernadotte is pouring sulphate of Swedish iron over his old chief, who cries: "Oh, spare me till the King of Rome is ripe for mischief yet to come." In the background are seen Spain grinding ingredients in a mortar labelled "Saragossa"; the Pope is bringing forward two flasks inscribed "Fulminating Powder" and "The Vial of Wrath." At the foot of a table, at which the Northern Powers are preparing other ingredients, lie paper and books, in which you read the words (erased) "Napoleon, Protector of the Rhenish Confederacy," and the substitution for them of "Francis, Emperor of Germany, restored 1813." Others are inscribed "Liberty of Germany" and "The Downfall of Boney."

This is the last caricature it is possible to describe in the "Year of Triumph," as 1813 was now called in

Germany. The Teutonic caricaturists were now vieing with their British *confrères* in activity. The "German retorts" had at last done their work.

On January 25, 1814, Napoleon left Paris for the front. The Allies, in spite of dissensions amongst themselves, were now on French soil. On January 29, on the Maizières Road, Gourgaud saved the Emperor from death at the hands of a Cossack lancer. The battles of Brienne and La Rothière were fought on the last day of the month and the first of February. Five days later the Congress of Châtillon began its sittings, and Napoleon missed his last chance of reigning as "King of France." He resolved to fight to the bitter end, and the success he obtained at Champaubert and Montmirail encouraged his fatal obstinacy. On February 20 he heard of the desertion of Murat, and on March 9 he was defeated by Blücher at Laon. The success of the Germans was soon known in London, for on March 22 Elmes's caricature "Blucherian Discipline, or A Game at Lay On" was published. Blücher, with a cat-o'-nine tails, is depicted in the act of castigating a half-naked figure of Napoleon, who is in full flight towards Paris, but still expresses defiance of his enemies.

The year 1814 had commenced with another cluster of caricatures against Napoleon. On January 1 Ackermann published his Leipzic "transparency" of "Death and Bonaparte—the Two Kings of Terror"; Tegg turned one of Roberts's 1803 prints into "Russian Amusement, or The Corsican Football;"[1] while George

[1] It seems as if a number of the Roberts plates had passed into Tegg's possession, who adapted them to the exigencies of 1813–14, only partially obliterating the original inscriptions.

Cruikshank contributed to the New Year's issue of the now rare and practically priceless *Meteor* his folding print in three sections, "Bonaparte, Ambition, and Death," in which we see Napoleon, led by Ambition, seeking the conquest of the world. Discomfited at Leipzic, he flies from Death. Overtaken by Retribution, he trembles for the future; while the shades of those he has murdered appear to his disordered vision, and Death digs his grave.

On the same day Ackermann published Rowlandson's "The Double Humbug, or The Devil's Imp praying for Peace," another caricature in sections ridiculing a speech Napoleon was said to have delivered on Sunday, December 19, 1813, and the *Satirist* entertained its readers[1] with George Cruikshank's "The Infant Richard," in which we see the reflection of Edmund Kean's great triumph at Drury Lane. The baby King of Rome is made to exclaim: "Now all my toys are gone. A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a nice Dutch rocking-horse!" On the wall behind him is a picture showing Napoleon as a cock thrown down by a Congreve rocket. Amongst the other caricatures, which appeared in rapid succession during the early days of the year 1814, were "The Modern Hannibal, *alias* the King of Rome swearing Eternal Enmity to England" (Tegg, January 16); "The Royal Beggars" (*Satirist*, February);[2] "An Affecting and Sublime Scene, or The Great Captain going to head his Armies" (S. Knight, February 6), and "Hard Times, or Oh, dear, what will become of Us?" (Tegg, February 10). All of these prints were the work of George Cruikshank, and so was "The Imperial

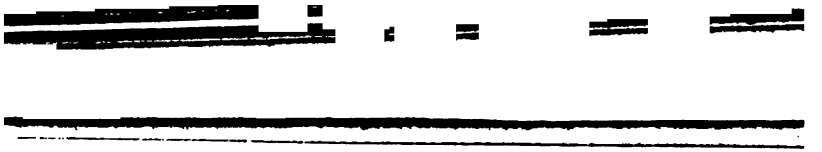
[1] Vol. xiv. frontispiece.

[2] Vol. xiv. p. 89.

Aye Aye — Master Bony — I thought I should bring you to it one of those days.
You have carryed on the trade of Grinding long enough to the Annoyance
Of your Oppressed Neighbours — One good turn deserves another —
Give him a Turn Brother Alex — and let us see how he — likes a taste
W. Elmes — 52.
London Pub.d March 21.st 1814.

JOHN BULL BRINGING BONY.S NOSE TO THE GRINDSTONE

By W. Elmes, March 21, 1814



Family going to the Devil" (J. Hughes, March 1). The influence of the German artists was now beginning to make itself felt. On March 2 Ackermann, whose connection with Leipzic has been explained,[1] published the "Head Runner of Runaways from Leipsic Fair," in which Napoleon, with the sceptre of Charlemagne as a staff and with a hare before him, is running rapidly in the direction of the Rhine to the city of Mayence. From his knapsack falls a number of maps and pictures lettered in German, "Old Guard," "Young Guard," "Italy," "Rheinbund," &c., &c. Two rolls, which have not yet fallen, are labelled respectively "Brabant," and "Rheisufer" [Rheinufer], the banks of the Rhine. The origin of this caricature is German, but there is also a French edition of it.[2] From uprisen Germany was also imported, to be re-etched by Rowlandson, "The Devil's Darling" (Ackermann, March 2). This plate is now reproduced in colour. A huge black devil sits amidst flames, holding in his arms a swaddled baby with Napoleon's face. In his right hand he clutches the Legion of Honour.

On March 21, the day of Napoleon's defeat at Arcis-sur-Aube, appeared Elmes's plate "John Bull bringing Bony's Nose to the Grindstone," now given as an illustration, in which we see the burly representative of English persistency and the generous giver of subsidies holding the nose of the unfortunate Emperor to the stone, which the Czar is turning industriously, saying: "Aye, aye, Master Boney. I thought I should bring you to it one of these days. You have carried on the trade of grinding long enough to the annoyance of your oppressed neighbours. One good turn deserves another.

[1] See *ante*, ch. iii. p. 62.

[2] *Vide* ch. xix. and xxi.

Give him a turn, Brother Alexander, and let us see how he likes a taste." In the background are seen the figures of Germany, Holland, and Brunswick.

Within a month Napoleon had ceased to reign, and the "Emperor of Elba" was on his way to his new dominion. The Cochrane Stock Exchange scandal had occurred at the end of February, and for the April issue of the *Satirist*[1] George Cruikshank provided the topical print, "Gambling in the Stocks," in which Lord Cochrane and Mr. Cochrane Johnson are depicted as placed in the stocks, with a card-table between them. A dice-box is in the hand of the former, who is in full naval uniform; another is held by Captain de Berenger. In the background Napoleon is seen falling from a mountain on to the horns of a bull and the spear of a Cossack. Honour disappears in a pool dubbed "Sinking Fund," and in the corner is a coach labelled "Humbug and Co.," from the window of which a passenger shouts "Death of Bonaparte."[2]

On April 1 Napoleon was at Fontainebleau, occupying for the last time the splendid apartments in the Gallery Francis I. On that day appeared G. Cruikshank's "The Allied Bakers, or The Corsican Toad in the Hole." Blücher and Bernadotte hold Napoleon in a dish on a peel, which rests on the door of an oven, the furnace be-

[1] Vol. xiv. p. 272.

[2] Cruikshank's "Representation of y° Gull Trap and y° Principal Actors in y° New Farce called y° Hoax, lately performed with great éclat in y° S—k X—ge" (Humphrey, April 6) refers to the same incident. Lord Cochrane is firing at the Emperor with a large blunderbuss, the ball from which is striking him in the breast. The crew of the vessel are taking in gold as ballast. John Bull in the distance, seated with mug of ale in hand, rejoicing at Napoleon's fall. So also does Cruikshank's "Mechanical Powers!!! or the Wonderful Invention of the Cock-Crane!!!" (T. Wilson, May 11).

neath which is being stoked by a Dutchman, who throws into it a quantity of eagles and other French trophies. The Emperor Francis is endeavouring to open the door of the oven, through which the figure of Death is visible. Wellington, who, like Blücher, wears a baker's apron, approaches from the right, carrying two pies on a tray, one labelled "Soult" and the other "Bordeaux." On the top of the Emperor's hat is a weathercock. He exclaims: "This door sticks! I don't think I shall get it open." Wellington cries: "Shove all together, gentlemen. D—n! shove door and all in!" Blücher exclaims: "Pull away, Frank; you keep us waiting." Worontzow says: "In with it, Blücher." Bernadotte, his hand on Worontzow's shoulders, adds: "The hinges want a little Russian oil."

On April 7 Napoleon signed at Fontainebleau the formal act of abdication, and Blücher, his arch enemy, became the hero of the hour. As such he figures conspicuously in Cruikshank's "Old Blücher beating the Corsican Big Drum" (Fores, April 8),[1] Rowlandson's "Blücher the Brave extracting the groan of Abdication from the Corsican Bloodhound" (Tegg, April 9), Cruikshank's "The Corsican Whipping-top in full Spin" (Humphrey, April 11), Cruikshank's "The Corsican Shuttle-cock, or A Pretty Plaything for the Allies" (S. Knight, April 10), and Rowlandson's "The Coming in at the death of the Corsican Fox—Scene the Last" (Ackermann, April 10). It will suffice to describe the two last. In "The Corsican Shuttle-cock" we see

[1] See Appendix A, Nos. 667 and 291. The caricatures "Old Blücher beating the Corsican Big Drum" and "Drumming out of the French Army" (both of them by G. Cruikshank), doubtless suggested the French caricature of 1815, "The Big Drum of Europe." See also Appendix D, No. 26.

Blücher and Schwartzenberg playing at shuttlecock with Napoleon. In the rear is the city of Paris, the Russian Austrian and Prussian flags flying above the tricolour. Blücher says: "Bravo, Schwartzenberg, keep the game alive! Send him this way, and, d—n him, I'll drive him back again." To which Schwartzenberg replies: "There he goes! Why, Blücher, this used to be rather a weighty plaything, but d—n me if he isn't as light as a feather now!"

In the "Coming in at the Death of the Corsican Fox—Scene the Last," Rowlandson borrowed boldly the idea Gillray had elaborated nearly eleven years before,[1] only Wellington replaced George III. By a strange coincidence although both King George and Gillray were alive in 1814, they were alike ignorant of the fate of "Little Boney." In a state of helpless mental darkness they were unconscious of the events which had set the joy-bells of Europe and England ringing, as they had not rung within the memory of living man. Long before May 23, when Knight published our English version of the German plate, "A Great General and a Little Emperor," Napoleon had been nearly three weeks at Elba, but he had assured Bausset that "he had abdicated, but yielded nothing." He promised to return "in the violet season," and he kept his word. The caricatures relating to Napoleon's exile to Elba, his sojourn there, and his return to France are so numerous that a separate chapter must be devoted to their consideration.

[1] *Cf.* "Death of the Corsican Fox" (Humphrey, July 20, 1803).

CHAPTER XVI

ENGLISH CARICATURES RELATING TO NAPOLEON AS EMPEROR OF ELBA, HIS JOURNEY THITHER, HIS SOJOURN IN THE ISLAND, AND HIS RETURN TO FRANCE (APRIL 1814 TO MARCH 1815)

"Who counsels peace at this momentous hour,
When God hath given deliverance to the oppress'd,
And to the injured, power?
Who counsels peace, when Vengeance like a flood
Rolls on, no longer now to be repress'd:
When innocent blood
From the four corners of the world cries out
For justice upon one accursed head;
When Freedom hath her holy banners spread
Over all nations, now in one just cause
United; when with one sublime accord
Europe throws off the yoke abhorr'd,
And Loyalty and Faith and Ancient Laws
Follow the avenging sword?"

—SOUTHEY, *Ode*, 1814.

"I have never seen a man with so much activity and restless perseverance; he appears to take pleasure in perpetual movement, and in seeing those who accompany him sink with fatigue."—COLONEL CAMPBELL, *Letters from Elba*.

IN dealing with the caricatures concerning this interlude in the life of Napoleon, a few important dates should be borne in mind. On April 17, 1814, the Commissioners of the Powers, who were to conduct the "Emperor of Elba" to his place of exile, arrived at Fontainebleau. On April 20, after bidding farewell to the Guard, he set out in a travelling-carriage

(*dormeuse de voyage*). On April 24 he met Augereau near Valence. After the insults offered to him at Orgon (April 25), he assumed a disguise. On the morning of April 27 he arrived at Fréjus, and on the evening of April 28 he went on board the *Undaunted*, in which vessel he arrived, on May 3, at Porto-Ferrajo. On February 26, 1815, Napoleon embarked on the *Inconstant*, which entered the Gulf of Juan on Wednesday, March 1. On that evening Napoleon stood once more on French soil.

The majority of the English caricatures on Napoleon as Emperor are coarse and cruel, but not more unmerciful than those directed against him by the supporters of the restored Bourbons. On the night of April 11 Napoleon tried to commit suicide. That very morning the fate in store for him had been anticipated in Rowlandson's "Bloody Boney: the Carcass Butcher left off Trade and retiring to Scare-crow Island" (Tegg, April 12). We see Napoleon, mounted on a donkey, with a bag of brown bread at his saddle-bow, and Marie Louise, on a pillion behind him, making their way towards the island of Elba. By their side is the King of Rome, astride on a Corsican dog. Elba is visible in the distance, and several crows, perched on a gallows, which points thither, cry out: "We long to pick your bones!" Not more complimentary is Cruikshank's "A Grand Manœuvre, or The Rogue's March to the Island of Elba" (Tegg, April 13). Talleyrand, with a broom lettered "Abdication," propels Napoleon, in tatters with a cord round his neck, towards the sea-coast, where the devil is waiting to transport him to the isle of Elba, the heights of which are crowned with gibbets.

THE SORROWS OF BONEY,
or
Meditations on the Island of ELBA!!!
CONTINENT OF EUROPE

Only two days later (April 15), Tegg published another version of "The Rogue's March," by Rowlandson, in which the brothers Napoleon and Joseph are depicted as being dragged along by a soldier, who carries on his shoulder a proclamation to this effect: "Napoleon, late Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Grand Arbiter of the Fate of Nations, &c., but now, by permission of the Allied Sovereigns, exiled in the Isle of Elba, an outcast from society, a fugitive, a vagabond. Yet this is the conceited mortal who said: 'I have never been seduced by prosperity; adversity will not be able to overcome me.'" Napoleon's head is adorned with ass's ears and a fool's-cap lettered, "Transported for Life." The demons "Detestation" and "Execration" bite at the legs of the fugitive. In the background the sovereigns of Europe dance round a banner covered with fleurs-de-lis, and sing gleefully: "Now we are met, a jolly set, in spite of wind or weather."

"The Sorrows of Boney, or Meditations in the Island of Elba" (John Walker, April 15), now reproduced, served originally, under the title of "Crocodile Tears," as the heading of one of the broadsides issued in the autumn of 1803. We shall meet with it once more in connection with St. Helena. Rowlandson was probably responsible for "A Friendly Visit" (Tegg, April 16), in which the Devil and Death are supposed to pay a visit to Napoleon and his brother Joseph, the latter of whom the grim King of Terrors arrests in his escape through the door with the words, "Stop, thief!" The crown falls from his head. The Devil holds out a noose to the Emperor with the words: "Master Boney, the favour of

your company is requested." Napoleon, in the act of hastily putting on his tattered breeches, replies: "I'll be with you in a crack!" On a table on which pistols, a dagger, an axe, a bowl of opium, &c., are displayed, an imp is seen drinking from a goblet inscribed: "Genuine Jaffa Poison."

George Cruikshank, according to Captain Douglas, was the author of "The Last March of the Conscripts, or Satan and his Satellites hurled to the Land of Oblivion" (Fores, April 17). A Cossack, pike in hand, is depicted in the act of lashing Napoleon, clad in tatters, chained and padlocked to his four brothers, along a road, close to a direction-post lettered "ELBA." The King of Rome pulls his father's coat-tails, saying: "Didn't you promise me to be a King?" In the left-hand corner is a box of crowns. To the right are seen three figures, one of them being that of Talleyrand, who holds in his hand a paper inscribed, "By order of the Provisional Government, by special favour of the great Alexander." He cries: "Huzza! there goes the whole family!" In the clouds above Napoleon's head are the ghosts of all his victims.

The volte-face of Talleyrand is also caricatured in Rowlandson's "Affectionate Farewell, or Kick for Kick" (Ackermann, April 17), in which we see the former Bishop of Autun, who holds in one hand a crutch, and in the other a document headed "Abdication, or The Last Dying Speech of a Murderer, &c.," deliver with his club-foot a terrible kick at Napoleon, who crouches before a gallows direction-post, indicating the road to Elba. The fallen Emperor says humbly: "Votre très humble serviteur, Msieu Tally." On the island in the dis-

By George Cruikshank, April 21, 1814

tance a number of corpses, inscribed "The Boney Family Exalted," are visible. J. Nixon's "A Delicate Finish to a French Corsican Usurper" (Asperne, 22 Cornhill, April 20) was etched by Rowlandson. It follows the same lines as the prints already described. Beneath it runs the verse :—

"Boney, canker of our joys, now thy Tyrant reign is o'er.
Fill the merry bowl, my boys, join in bacchanalian roar ;
Seize the villain, plunge him in, see the hated miscreant dies.
Mirth and all thy train come in ; banish sorrows, tears, and sighs."

Rumours of an extraordinary character as to Napoleon's conduct must have reached England about this time. Possibly the phenomenal restlessness of which Colonel Campbell wrote is reflected in the anonymous plate "Boney at Elba, or Madman's Amusements" (Fores, April 20), in which we see Napoleon, crowned with wisps of straw and with a straw sceptre in his hand, firing a straw cannon at four straw scarecrows, labelled "Austria," "Prussia," "Russia," and "Sweden." On the ground lie two papers inscribed "Project to invade the Moon," "Grant of the Senate, six millions." On a mountain in the background is a tower lettered "Elba Babel"; below, three lines from Dryden. A corporal remonstrates, and a boatman decamps, for fear of the destruction of his vessel.

In "Broken Gingerbread" (Humphrey, April 23), given as an illustration, Napoleon at Elba is supposed to emerge from a hut bearing the sign "Tiddy-Doll, Gingerbread-maker. *N.B.*—Removed from Paris." [1] On his head he carries a tray filled with manikin kings and queens. He cries: "Buy my image(s)! Here's my nice little

[1] *Cf.* "Tiddy-Doll, the Great Gingerbread Baker," Jan. 23, 1806.

gingerbread Emperor and Kings. Retail and for exportation." On the mainland rejoicings are in progress in honour of the return of Louis XVIII. Humphrey was also the publisher of Cruikshank's "The El-baronian Emperor going to take Possession of his new Territory" (April 23). The Emperor, tattered and in fetters, is represented as occupying a cage on wheels drawn by a mounted Cossack. In the title the syllable "El" is erased and "Hell" substituted for it. The captive cries: "Oh, d—n these Cossacks!" In the background is a group of Cossacks guarding the cavalcade.[1] This caricature is reproduced as an illustration.

Rowlandson was the author of "Nap dreading his doleful Doom, or His Grand Entry into the Isle of Elba" (Tegg, April 25). On arriving at Elba Napoleon is greeted by his new subjects, all of them being singularly unprepossessing in their appearance. A hideous fishwife exclaims: "Come, cheer up, my little Nicky. I'll be your Empress!" To which the chapfallen exile replies: "Ah, woe is me, seeing what I have (seen), and seeing what I see!"

There had been some enthusiastic rejoicings at Yarmouth on April 19 over Napoleon's overthrow, and a little later appeared "A Front View of the Bonfire," with the sub-title, "Funeral Pile of the Buonapartean Dynasty," stated to have been drawn and etched by T. S. Cotman. On the centre panel the world is shown in flames, while the Devil clutches at Napoleon, who cries: "Spare me a little longer." On two other panels are inscriptions in praise of the English heroes, and the

[1] For other caricatures of Napoleon in a cage see Appendix A, 215. See also the German caricature "The New Elba," ch. xxi. p. 135.

The [illegible] SARDINIAN [illegible]

By George Cruikshank, April 25, 1814

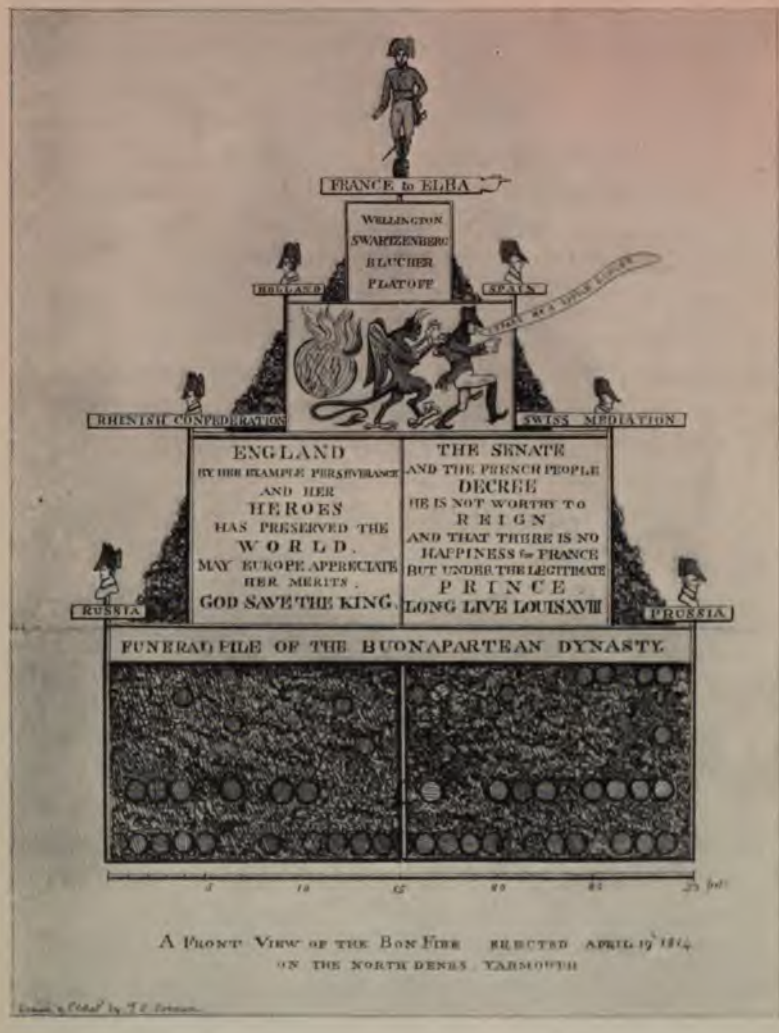
action of the French Senate in pronouncing the downfall of Napoleon and the restoration of Louis XVIII. On the summit of the pile is a direction-post lettered "France to Elba." At this time the famous "Corpse-head" of Napoleon, copied from the German, and inscribed "Triumph of the Year 1813," appeared in London and most of the European capitals.[1] As a set off to this, J. Johnson now produced a caricature head of the Czar Alexander, with several lines of complimentary text on "the Emperor of that country which proved the grave of French glory and Corsican ambition." We are told that "The hat is formed of a bear holding in his mouth a branch of palm, in allusion to the approaching Peace through the exertions of Russia; the face represents the figures of Fame and Slavery, the former raising the latter; round the neck is a wreath of laurel to commemorate the recent victory gained over the Usurper. The epaulet is the claw of the Lion, which alludes to the assistance given by England. The star is the globe round which are the figures of Peace, Commerce, Plenty, and Trade. The order round the neck is represented by four hands to show that the concord of the world is near at a crisis." The writer omits to state that the Bridge of Lindenau is depicted on the light blue ribbon across the Emperor's breast. The names of Lindenau, Krasnoi, and Leipzic are also inscribed on the green coat he wears. The different versions of the "Arms of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Tyrant of France," which were published at this time, are explained elsewhere.[2]

On May 1[3] the *Satirist* published Cruikshank's

[1] See *post*, ch. xxix. pp. 242–257. [2] See *post*, ch. xxviii. pp. 232–241.
[3] Vol. xiv. p. 355.

caricature, "Otium cum dignitate, or A View of Elba." We have in this plate a view of the interior of a cottage on the coast of Elba. Napoleon, unkempt, unshaven, and in rags, is blowing the fire, over which hangs a cauldron of bones. Amongst the fuel are State papers, a globe, arms, a map of France, &c. The ex-Emperor exclaims: "I wish I could set the chimney on fire." Bertrand is making love to a buxom cook, who is rolling pastry. On the wall is a print of Josephine. Jerome Bonaparte, Admiral of the Fleet, is mending nets at the entrance, guarded by a cannon made out of an old boot. A group of peasants look on in derision. The *Scourge* on the same day produced an anonymous print entitled "Nic *alias* Nap's March to Elba, or The Downfall of the Napoleonic Dynasty."[1] The fallen Emperor on an ass, with paniers filled with plate, jewels, &c., and a box containing 6,000,000 francs, passes beneath a gallows. Behind come his three brothers. The King of Rome is being dragged forward on a hobby-horse inscribed "Playthings for Young Boney, April 1, 1814." He resists, but the Pope cries out: "Come, my dear, we'll take the road to Italy, and his Holiness will give you better lessons than your father did." A devil, leading the ass, carries on his head the Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud. Women throw down water on him, upbraiding him with his faithlessness to Josephine and his cruelty to Miss Paterson. Above Napoleon is a gallows, over which two imps hold a scroll inscribed "Triumphal Arch of the Bonaparte Dynasty," while a third adjusts a cord round his neck. Napoleon holds the proclamation of banishment in his hand, and says: "Dogs!

[1] Vol. vii. p. 351.



A Front View of the Bon Fire erected April 19th 1814
on the North Denes Yarmouth

1—360

Rascals! Turn-coats! am I fallen without blowing up Paris? But I'll leave yet a bloody page for history." In the background is the sign of the Hare, by Louis Loyal, "Refreshment for Travellers visiting Elba." In the distance is seen a view of Elba, a monument to Napoleon crowning its heights. On the same day were issued Rowlandson's "The Tyrant of the Continent is fallen. Europe is Free. England Rejoices" (Ackermann), and his "Boney turned Moralist" (also by Ackermann), as well as Cruikshank's "Snuffing out Boney" (Tegg),[1] and his "Downfall of Tyranny and Return of Peace" (*The Meteor*). On the anonymous print, "The Cream of the Joke, or Boney's Last Bulletin" (May 2), Fores advertises the fact that "At 50 Piccadilly may be had all the caricatures of Buonaparte's life." The story of Napoleon's attempted suicide at Fontainebleau, on April 7, probably suggested Cruikshank's caricature, "Singular Trait of Bonaparte's Famous Mameluke" (Knight, May 5). The Emperor sits on a chair. The Mameluke, a whetstone over his arm, offers a gigantic sabre to his master. On the wall of the room is a fresco painting of a Roman soldier falling on his sword. In the archway at the entrance is a grindstone. Below is the following explanatory but wholly apocryphal text: "Sharpening his sword with great care, he entered Boney's room, and addressed him as follows: 'Sir, after what has happened, of course you will not choose to live. I have therefore brought you my sword; will you use it yourself or shall I pass it through your body? I am ready to obey your orders.' Boney answered that neither of these alternatives were (*sic*) necessary.

[1] See "A Delicate Finish," Appendix A, 263.

'Neither!' exclaimed the Mameluke, with surprise. 'What! Can you endure life after such a reverse?!!! Then I pray you to despatch me with the same weapon, or dismiss me from your service, for I will not live under such disgrace.' He haughtily left the room."

This was followed by several other caricatures, of which any detailed description would be difficult. At the end of the month Holland issued "Boney Boned," which bears a curious resemblance to a print published by Ansell nearly eleven years before.[1] In "Boney Boned," now reproduced, we see Blücher exhibiting Napoleon, fixed firmly into a marrow-bone placed in a dish, to the Allied Sovereigns, saying: "I'll drive you a little tighter, and then I think Europe will be secure from your machinations." There were other revivals of old caricatures. A Mr. Lee adapted for James Asperne the caricature "Pidcock's Grand Menagerie," under the title of "Cruce Dignus, the Grand Menagerie, with an exact Representation of Napoleon Buonaparte, the little Corsican Monkey, as he may probably appear on the Island of Elba."[2] Below the print are twenty lines of text beginning, "This surprising animal was taken by John Bull and his Allies. He possesses the cunning of the fox, the rapacity of the wolf, the bloodthirsty nater (*sic*) of the hyæna, the tender feelings of the crocodile, and the obstinacy of the ass." They also contain this anagram on Bonaparte's name: "Bona rapta pone leno = Lay down the goods you have stolen."

[1] *Cf.* "The King's Dwarf plays Gulliver a Trick," October 18, 1803.

[2] See *ante*, "Pidcock's Grand Menagerie" (1803), and "The Elbaronian Emperor" (1814). Also the German and French caricatures, "A New Elba," and others.

I'll drive you a little tighter and then I think Europe will be secure from your Machinations!
Will Marshall Bluchers Bones there will be no contention about, for the cordons are too corruptible
Yourefix'd at last my boy you have ever lost the use of your Legs
BONEY BONED.

By Temple West, May, 1814

More than one publisher issued "Memoirs of Napoleon the First and Last," surmounted by the gruesome German head, and containing the grossest libels on Napoleon. Other prints of this period consisted of silhouette portraits, which, on being held to the light, gave the exiled Emperor the appearance of Satan, or might, by using a slide, assume some horrible or disgraceful appearance. On one of these toys a hideous skull could at pleasure be made to take the place of the face. Below it run the lines :—

"For within the hollow iron crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a tyrant
Keeps death his court, and there the antick sits,
Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp,
Infusing him with self and vain conceit.
And at the last he with a little pin
Bores thro' his castle walls, and farewell King."

In "An Imperial Vomit," an anonymous caricature published on June 4 by Holland, and now reproduced, the Prince Regent, with a roll of paper in his hand, stands over Napoleon, saying: "I think now, my little fellow, you are pretty well cleared, and I trust you will never give us the trouble to Prescribe or Proscribe any more." The deposed Emperor is vomiting Westphalia, Spain, &c., into a tub inscribed "George Prince & Co.," with his hat, sword, and a map of Elba on the floor. A small figure, clinging to the edge of the tub, says: "I say, Mynheer, do stop and help a poor Swiss out of the tub." A diminutive Dutchman, running off, replies: "Nay, nay, Mynheer; now I am out I will run for it." Below the print are Spenser's lines :—

"And all the way, most like a brutish Beast,
He spewed up his gorge, that all did him detest."

Many of the "transparencies" exhibited in London during the visit of the Allied Sovereigns and the Peace Rejoicings held throughout England on June 1814 were afterwards utilised as caricatures. One of the most popular of them was West's, "The Time is Come," in which composition the Devil is seen dragging "Little Boney" (for he was always "Little Boney" with the British public) towards the flames. Clown, Harlequin, and Pantaloon mock his misfortunes. Above are seen a dove, the word "Peace," and the inscription: "An Exact Representation of the Transparency exhibited at WEST'S Theatrical Print Warehouse on June 9, 1814." Below run the lines :—

> "Time is come; his fate is cast;
> The devil has his own at last.
> May Peace and Plenty long prevail
> And Commerce spread the swelling sail.
> Dramatic sports our leisure hours employ,
> And West's theatric prints be our best joy."

Rowlandson was presumably the author of another caricature-transparency, "Napoleon with the Python around Him," the original finished water-colour design for which is in the possession of the writer. It is now reproduced in colours. On a pedestal, ornamented with a medallion portrait of George III., and inscribed "Liberty," stand the figures of "Justice" and "Victory." To the left an English sailor, with bales of goods in the background, waves his hat exultingly; in the foreground lies a heap of broken French trophies; to the right is seen Napoleon, his crown falling from his head, struggling in the embrace of a python. Behind the pedestal is an enormous anchor. Above is the monogram "G. P. R.,"

Anonymous caricature of June, 1814

with a figure of Fame supporting two other medallions, standing out boldly against a sun in its glory. The faces on these medallions are probably those of Blücher and Wellington. A popular caricature of the month of the rejoicings, on the 18th of which London feasted at the Guildhall unconscious of what was to happen on the same day in 1815, was Cruikshank's "A Game of Cribbage, or Boney's Last Shuffle" (Humphrey, June 16). In this print we see Bonaparte and the Prince Regent seated at a card-table. The back of Bonaparte's chair is decorated with a Cap of Liberty and guillotine; that of the Regent with royal arms and Prince of Wales's feather. Boney cries "Eight"; his adversary replies "Eighteen," throwing down a card with the portrait of Louis XVIII. At the back of the Regent's chair crouches the British bull-dog. There was something else for the Aldermen and Common Councilmen to laugh at at their banquet. M'Cleary of Dublin either produced on his own account or pirated from somebody else the caricature now reproduced, "A Side-Dish for the City of London Feast, June 18, 1814." John Bull in a huge tankard of foaming porter cries :—

> "Huzza, huzza! Why, here's a Dish,
> Beats Turtle, Venison, Fowl, or Fish.
> Laud the caterers to the skies,
> And thus you'll praise our brave Allies."

"Boney" is seen skewered and trussed in a dish, beside which lies a sword inscribed "Blücher's Carving Knife."

Little can be said of the caricature "Drumming out of the French Army" (Holland, June),[1] but "The Modern

[1] See Appendix A, 57, and Appendix D, 25.

Prometheus, or Downfall of Tyranny," which George Cruikshank designed and etched for presentation to the customers of Martin's Lottery Office, 8 Cornhill, is a very fine example of that artist's best work, and it is now reproduced. Justice, blindfold, holds a balance in one hand and a flaming sword in the other. The tri-colour falls from one scale, while a Royal crown and flag weigh down the other. Justice tramples the Imperial crown and a military ensign under foot, while an enormous eagle attacks the breast of Bonaparte, chained helpless to a rock. The lower portion of the sword is inscribed "England," from which spring flames bearing the words "Austria," "Russia," "Prussia," and "Sweden." In the background is a globe upon which figures of Peace and Plenty are showering fruit, &c., from a cornucopia. On the impression in possession of the writer George Cruikshank has added two attestations of authorship; but he adds a note that the figures with the cornucopia were by his brother "I. R. C."

For the same Lottery Office and at about the same time, Cruikshank designed and etched another fine symbolical print, "Britannia and the Seven Champions, or Modern Christendom Restored," but there is no figure of Bonaparte in it, although it relates to his downfall. Britannia, seated on a car of shells, is drawn by sea-horses accompanied by gods; her shield bears a portrait of the Prince Regent. Two Cupids are crowning her, while holding aloft a medallion of Wellington. Six other Cupids are hovering above with portraits of the Allied Sovereigns in their hands.

There are two caricatures of this period in which the exile of Elba and President Madison both figure. It

Huzza! Huzza! why here's a Dish
Beath Turtle, Venison, Fowl or Fish
Laud the Cateress to the Skies,
And thus you'll praise our Brave Allies.
BONEY DISH'ED.
ENGLA
BRAVE ALLIES
A SIDE DISH for the CITY OF LONDON FEAST. June 18. 1814.

Anonymous caricature of June, 1814

must be remembered that our war with America lasted till quite the end of the year. In "Boney and Maddy gone to Pot" (Fores, June), which was anonymous, the Emperor of Elba and the President of the United States are represented seated looking at each other. The one grasps an "Order for an Immediate March to Elba," the other a similar order relating to the tomahawk. Napoleon says: "You see, it's all dicky with me; they have sent me to pot!" Madison replies: "And soon, I fear, it will be all dicky with me; they will send me to pot too. See what a fine kettle of fish we have made of it. This comes of my believing you and taking your bribes." In July the artist Frederick Rehberg published a large print entitled "Bonaparte resigning the Crown and Sceptre to the British Lion and the High Allied Powers," which he dedicated to the Duke of Wellington. In the background is a view of Elba. The Lion crushes the Eagle of France, while above flutter triumphantly the one-headed Eagle of Prussia and the two-headed Eagles of Russia and Austria.

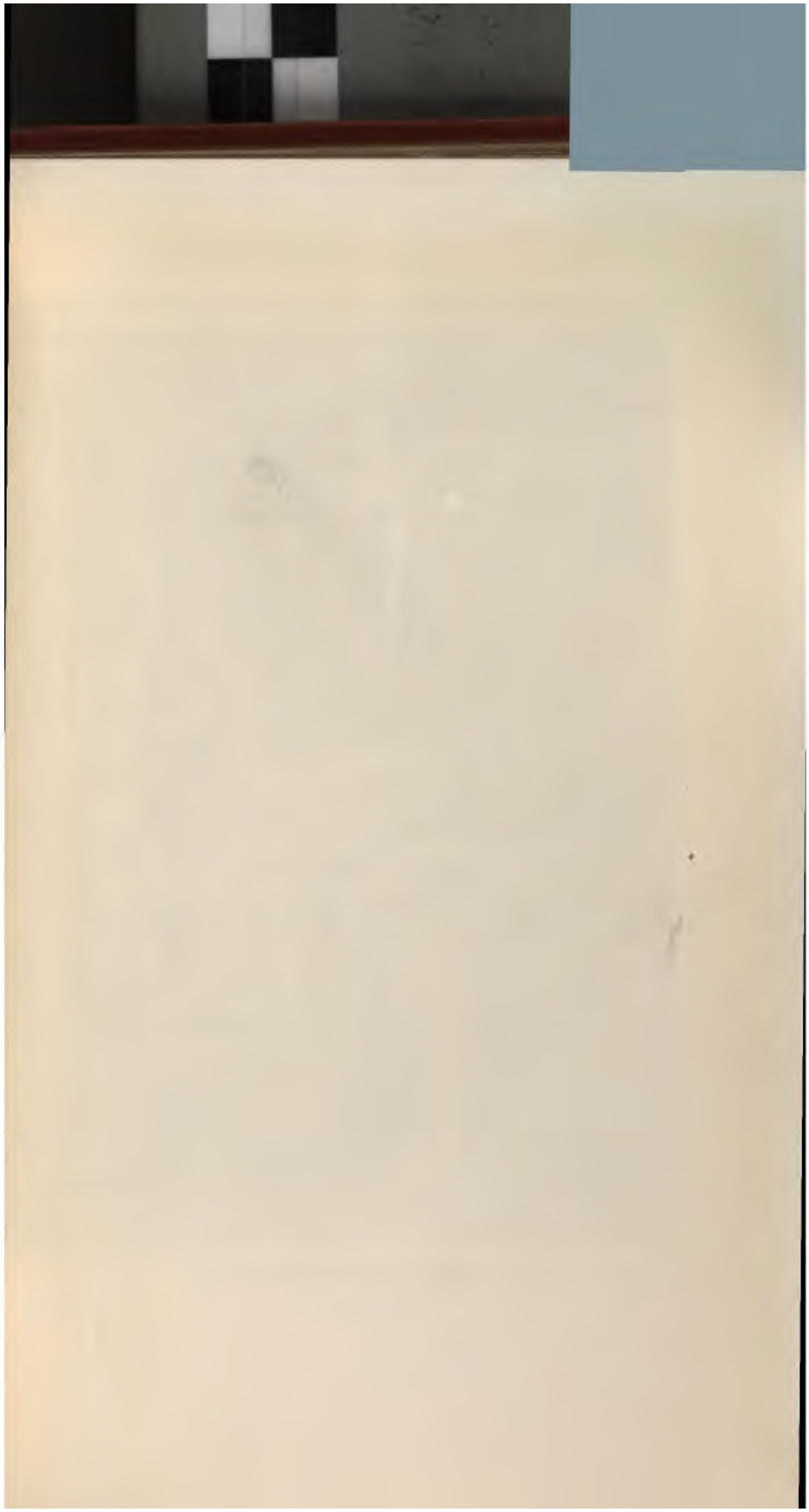
On August 24 the Battle of Bladenburg was won by our troops, and Cruikshank's caricature, "John Bull making a *capital* Bonfire, and Mr. Madison running away by the light of it," killed two birds with one stone. In this plate (S. Knight, October 1814) we see the Washington Capitol, warehouses, and ships in flames.[1] The President and his companions take to flight. Madison shouts, "Oh dear! oh dear! who would have thought of this! D—n their impudence! Oh, what a

[1] The British troops defeated the United States forces on July 2, 1814. On August 24 the British, under Ross, again defeated the Americans, and the city of Washington was taken and the public buildings burned.

set of cowards we are! What the devil shall I say to the people." Bonaparte, standing with outstretched arms on a tiny island in the sea, inscribed "Elba," shouts: "Ah! you see, friend Mad-ass, it's no use contending with that beast John Bull. See what he has brought me to! So I would advise you to come and live quietly with me, for it's no use your humbuging there any longer."

"Tyrant of France—Desolator of Europe," is the legend on a caricature published in the summer of 1814 by Ackermann, which was supposed to represent the reverse of one of the many medals issued in France in honour of Napoleon. The head is executed in black. Above are the words "Napoleon Bonaparte"; below the head, "Tyrant of France, Desolator of Europe. Born August 15, 1769. Self-created Emperor, May 18, 1803 (*sic*). Dethroned, April 2, 1814. Transported to Elba under an escort of Cossacks, April 12, 1814."

Towards the end of the year George Cruikshank and William Combe, the author of *Dr. Syntax*, collaborated in a volume published by Tegg which appeared under the name of *Life of Napoleon—a Hudibrastic Poem*. It contained a cleverly designed coloured frontispiece (now reproduced), and twenty-eight plates bearing various dates between November 10, 1814, and January 23, 1815. Each of these plates is a caricature of some real or imaginary episode in the life of Napoleon. The verses are exceedingly poor. The frontispiece contains no less than five caricature portraits of Napoleon. He is depicted, beginning to climb the ladder of life, as a boy in a Phrygian cap springing from a mushroom; in the left-hand corner at the top he sits astride the globe, in his imperial robes and crown, holding out his sceptre and



THE MODERN PROMETHEUS, OR DEFENDER OF TYRANNY.

orb; struck by lightning, he falls, with all the emblems of his glory, from his exalted position, and ends as an exile sitting dolefully on another mushroom at Elba. *Vide* "Napoleon Dreaming," and twenty-eight other plates. (See Douglas, *Works of George Cruikshank*, p. 256.)

At the commencement of 1815 appeared another admirable caricature by George Cruikshank, "Twelfth Night, or What you Will, now performing at the Theatre Royal, Europe, with new Scenery" (Humphrey). The point of interest had evidently shifted, to a great extent, from Elba to Vienna, and the process of reportioning Europe, in which the delegates at the Congress were now engaged, afforded the artist an excellent opportunity for a topical print in connection with a festival then universally observed in England on every 6th of January.

The farce was not destined to last long. On March 1 Napoleon landed in France, and only seventeen days later (March 17), Whittle and Laurie published, "from the design of P. H., Esq.," the caricature, "The Fox and the Goose,[1] or Boney broke Loose," which contained a panoramic view of the political situation created by Napoleon's escape from Elba. The Emperor as a fox is dashing across France, while the Royalists are retreating precipitately from Paris in the direction of Dover. The bees are leaving their hives to join Napoleon, to oppose whose progress an army is drawn up before the capital. In a corner of the print is a vignette of the Congress of Vienna assembled in Council. Above is the device *Veluti in Speculum*. The coasts of France appear to be strongly guarded, while Elba is encircled by a formidable palisade.

[1] A well-known child's game of the period.

Four days later George Cruikshank's "Boney's return from Elba, or The Devil amongst the Tailors" (Humphrey, March 21, 1815) was ready. In this clever caricature Napoleon sits in the centre of the board, upon which the European powers are cutting out various garments, *i.e.*, remodelling the map of Europe. Through the open window one obtains a glimpse of the island of Elba, from which a panther (Napoleon) is preparing to make a spring. Napoleon, sword in hand, says: "Don't disturb yourselves, shop-mates, I have only popped myself here as a cutter-out. Where is my wife and son and Father Francis?" Louis XVIII. has fallen on the floor, and John Bull, trying to raise him, says sympathetically: "Never fear, old boy, I'll help you up again. As for that rascal Boney, I will sew him up presently." Beneath the print are four verses, of which the two following are specimens:—

"When, like a tiger stealing from his den
And gorged with blood, yet seeking blood again,
From Elba's Isle the Corsican came forth,
Making his sword the measure of his worth.
. . . . . .
Swift as the vivid lightning shock,
The exile darts from Elba's rock,
And like the thunderbolt of Fate,
Dethrones a King, transforms a State."

A caricature broadside, "Escape of Buonaparte from Elba," was published by G. Smeeton, for which Cruikshank designed the illustration. To the right the isle of Elba, above which is seen a skeleton horse and birds of prey, while Death, fiddling merrily, exclaims: "Why, d—n me, I shall be busy as a bee!" From a ship in full sail come the words: "Stop him!" Above

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is seen Napoleon, sword and hat in hand, riding on the back of the Devil, who has in either claw a tricoloured basket filled with armed men. The Emperor shouts, "Here I come, my lads. I'll set you to work again!" A band of sympathisers lines the cliffs of the mainland, shouting, "Come along!" In the background the members of the Congress of Vienna are depicted asleep under a tent, while Talleyrand is handing a letter for Napoleon to a messenger. The angel of Peace flies away exclaiming: "Farewell to Europe now!" Below are sixteen lines of prose relating Napoleon's escape from Elba on the night of February 27, 1815. They conclude as follows:—

"A year has not elapsed, and this man who pretended the wish to spare France the horrors of a Civil War, now goes to relume the torch of war! And that which he dared not do with 40,000 Frenchmen, he now attempts with a thousand banditti, chiefly Poles, Neapolitans, and Piedmontese! May Providence, wearied out with his crimes, deceive this time the base calculations of his cowardice, or abandon him to the vengeance of the laws which he has so often violated and trampled under foot. What Judge Jenkins said of the celebrated John Lilbourne may be fairly applied to Bonaparte with a little alteration of the words: 'That if the world were emptied of all but Napoleon Bonaparte, Bonaparte would quarrel with Napoleon and Napoleon with Bonaparte.'"

Other caricatures on the same subject follow similar lines. Rowlandson appropriated unblushingly an old joke of Cruikshank's in his "The Flight of Buonaparte from Hell Bay." By some accident the last figure in

1815 has been changed to a 3, but the real date of the print is obvious. Napoleon, standing on a sphere, rises, sword in hand, from a cavern, inhabitated by devils and dragons. The globe, on which the foot of Bonaparte rests, is a bubble which the chief devil, sitting in an arm-chair, has just blown from a pipe. The "Reign of a Hundred Days" dates from March 21, and Napoleon had been nearly a month in Paris when Cruikshank's "The Corsican's Last Trip, under the Guidance of his Good Friend the Devil" (Humphrey, April 17), appeared. The design is simple enough. Napoleon rests one foot on the isle of Elba; the other, with the assistance of the Devil, he places on the steps of the throne of France. A dove on the back of the throne is being attacked by an eagle. On the seat of the throne lie the imperial crown and sceptre. A dog, round the collar of which is the name of Talleyrand, barks furiously at the intruder.

The escape from Elba had nearly become ancient history when George Cruikshank's caricature "(H)Elba Flag" was published (Humphrey, April 30). The idea of the plate is credited to "T. H." In the design are three B's properly suspended, namely, Buonaparte and Burdett *over* Baring, but under their deserts, namely, a gibbet.

The last of the Elba caricatures was drawn and etched by George Cruikshank. Its title is unusually long. It is called "View of the Great Triumphal Pillar to be Erected on the Spot where Corporal Violet *alias* Napoleon landed in France on his Return from Elba, the 3rd March, 1815,[1] in the Department of La Var (*sic*),

[1] The real date of Napoleon's return to France is Wednesday, March 1 (Albert Schuermans, *Itinéraire Général*, p. 354).

The Life of
NAPOLEON.
A
Hudibrastic Poem
in
Fifteen Cantos.
by
DOCTOR SYNTAX,
embellished with
Thirty Engravings,
by
G. Cruikshank.
London:
1815.

after a retirement of ten months" (Humphrey, May 12). Violets and vipers adorn the base of this remarkable trophy, which consists of staves, lettered "Murder," "Plunder," "Ambition," "Deceit" and "Vanity," supporting a row of skulls and a drum flanked by cannon, on which stands a gigantic skeleton, leaning upon the guillotine and trampling the Bible under foot. From the daggers in the head of the skeletons springs a platform; supporting it is a gibbet, to which is tied a figure of Mercy. Napoleon, with a scourge in either hand, lashes her mercilessly, saying: "There, you good-for-nothing jade, take that for persuading the Allied Powers to send me to Elba!" From a cornucopia fixed to the gibbet fall proposals of peace and addresses to the Army. The whole is crowned with a tricolour banner and a Napoleonic eagle. It was exactly one month later (June 12) that Napoleon set out to join the army which was to oppose the advance of the troops of the Allies. By a strange coincidence he slept at Laon, the scene of his fight of March of the previous year with Blücher, with whom he is now once again to cross swords.

CHAPTER XVII

ENGLISH CARICATURES RELATING TO NAPOLEON'S REIGN OF A HUNDRED DAYS, HIS DEFEAT AT WATERLOO, AND FINAL ABDICATION (APRIL TO JULY 1815)

"Demain, c'est le cheval qui s'abat blanc d'écume !
Demain, c'est Moscow qui sans la nuit s'allume !
Demain, c'est Waterloo !"
—VICTOR HUGO.

"Again their ravening eagle rose
In anger, wheel'd on Europe-shadowing wings,
And barking for the thrones of kings."
—TENNYSON.

ON March 8, 1815, Napoleon arrived at Grenoble. It was ten days later that Ney joined him at Auxerre. At Fontainebleau on March 20, he heard that the Bourbons had left Paris. On the following evening he reached the Tuileries. On Monday, March 21, the "Reign of a Hundred Days," in which events succeeded one another with bewildering rapidity, began. During April and May Napoleon resumed to a great extent the life he had led in the halcyon days of 1810–11. Reviews were of almost daily occurrence. On April 17 he took up his abode at the Élysée Palace. Next day he went to the opera, where *La Vestale et Psychée* was performed; on April 21 he went to the Théâtre-Français to see *Hector*. Next day the "Additional Act" was promulgated, and the Assembly which was to modify the constitution of the

Empire convened for May 26. The gorgeous ceremonial of the "Champ de Mai" actually took place on the first day of the month of Waterloo. His last and shortest campaign only lasted eleven days. On June 21 he was back at the Élysée. Next day he abdicated for the second time. Three days later he left Paris for Malmaison, where he had sought "the hospitality of Queen Hortense." Early on the morning of June 29 he set out for Rambouillet, where he dined and slept. On July 3 he reached Rochefort. The "last reign of Napoleon" ended with the abdication of June 22. It had in reality only lasted from March 21 till that day.

The campaign of caricatures which began as soon as the news of Napoleon's escape reached London continued with unabated vigour. Blücher acted with his wonted promptitude directly he heard the astounding intelligence, and prepared for the final tussle. On March 20 a print, entitled "Boney's Fate, or Old Blücher Preparing" (by "C. W."), was published in London (J. Johnston). Blücher is seen sitting on a camp-bed drawing on his boots. On the ground lies a letter containing the following words: "Blücher, Nap has broke loose and at his tricks again; go and quiet him. Frederick." Blücher says, "I will quiet him! If I catch him, damn him, I will hang him!!" And so he fully hoped to do.[1]

The stampede of English visitors from Paris consequent on the first rumours of what had happened on the shores of the Gulf of Juan gave the caricaturists an opportunity not to be missed. The events of 1803 were still fresh in men's memories. The subject was humorously dealt with by Cruikshank in "Hell broke loose,

[1] See J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. p. 516.

or The John Bulls made Jack Asses" (Fores, March 20). Napoleon and his troops are seen at the top of a hill inscribed Mons Martis (Montmartre). Napoleon says: "Aye, aye, I shall catch some of the John Bulls, and I'll make them spend their money, and their time too, in France." In the background is a view of the City of Paris, with a guillotine and decollated heads on the gates and gibbets on the walls. A motley crowd of English tourists in coaches, on horseback, and on foot is making for Calais, the direction of which is shown by a sign-post. One of the coaches is stopped by a postilion, who shouts: "We want de coach to join de Grand Emperor. We teach you now to recover our lost honour." On a distant hill is seen "Louis the Well Beloved" in full flight, leaving his crown and sceptre on the ground. He cries: "Curse the Allies for giving the Monster his liberty." Cruikshank's "The High Winds of March blowing events from all Quarters" appeared in the *Scourge* of April.[1] This plate is divided into four sections. In the last, Napoleon and Louis XVIII. are seen struggling for the possession of the crown on a platform, surrounded by a motley crowd shouting. Napoleon cries: "Yield, Bourbon, the throne is mine. Mine by Treachery and broken faith. Fly then to Elba. Do you not tremble at yon grim monster whose bloody jaws are open to receive you?" Louis rejoins: "Tyrant, Usurper, thy time is come. Thy blood shall expiate thy crimes." A demon perched on a blood-stained guillotine mutters: "Gentlemen, you will have the goodness to settle your own private dispute. *One* of you must have the Throne, but I must have the

[1] Vol. ix. p. 240.

other!" The same day Cruikshank's "See-Saw, or A Specimen of French Stability" (R. Harrild) helped to promote the gaiety of London. On a hill to the right stand the Allied Powers, John Bull in the centre. The Emperor Alexander shouts that he will send his Cossacks, and the King of Prussia, Blücher. On a rock is an enormous plank forming see-saw; at the upper end are Napoleon and the King of Rome, while at the other Louis XVIII. and his followers, fallen into a ditch, are crying: "We are down for ever!" Napoleon's end of the plank is supported by the joint efforts of French bayonets, the guillotine, and the Devil, who props it up with his trident, saying: "Although I say it, that should not say it, I'll be damned if we aren't two prime fellows! So support my friend and partner Boney, and we'll set you a-dancing by and bye to the tune of Hell's delights and the devil to pay. So holla, boys, long live the Emperor!" The King of Rome shouts: "*Little* Boney is himself again!" while Napoleon says: "Here I am up, up, up, and there you are down, down, down! If you pop up your nob again, I'll box you for a *crown*." In the centre is an Eagle perched on the top of an imperial crown and cushion, with legs and arms, made to typify French opinion. From the mouth of this hybrid monster proceed the words: "By hook or by crook, I'm always on the strongest side."

Cruikshank, in the present emergency, did not neglect the requirements of his old friend Mistress Humphrey, and on April 4 she published "The Genius of France expounding her laws to the sublime people." A huge monkey, its tail tied with tricolour rosettes, holds up a scroll, which is being carefully inspected by an army of

tiny apes; in the background is a windmill, on the sails of which is written: "Vive le Republique," "Vive le Diable," "Vive le Roi," and "Vive l'Empereur." On the scroll one reads the "French Code of Laws" which begin as follows: "Ye shall be vain, fickle, and foolish, ye shall kill your king one day and crown his relative the next, you shall get tired of him in a few weeks and recall a tyrant who has made suffering Humanity bleed at every pore." The idea of the Twelfth Cake had seemingly caught on, for just three months after the correct date (January 6) appeared Cruikshank's "Congress disolved (*sic*) before the Cake was cut up" (Fores, April 6). The representatives of the Powers are seen sitting round an enormous twelfth cake. Bonaparte enters the room with a drawn sword in his hand, crushing under foot several rolls of paper inscribed, "A plan for the security of Europe," saying: "Avast, ye bunglers, the cake you have been this six months disputing about cutting up, I'll do it in as many hours." The King of Prussia exclaims: "Who the devil would have expected *you* here? This is mal-à-propos!" The others cry: "Seize him! Stop him! Hold him!" The King of Saxony in alarm cries: "I thought England had promised to guard him!" And Holland, lying on the ground with an upset bottle of *Schiedam*, shouts: "O! donner and blixen (*sic*), my Holland is all gone!"

Rowlandson was scarcely less busy than Cruikshank. For his friend and neighbour Ackermann he prepared "Hell Hounds rallying round the Idol of France" (April 8), "Scene in a new Pantomime to be performed at the Theatre Royal, Paris, with entirely new Music,

Dances, Dresses, Machinery, &c., the principal characters to be supported by most of the great potentates of Europe. Harlequin by Mr. Napoleon, Clown by King of Wirtemberg, Pantaloon, Emperor of Austria, to conclude with a comic song to be sung by the Pope, and the grand chorus by the crowned heads *Vivant Rex et Regina*" (April 12), and "The Corsican and his Blood Hounds at the window of the Tuileries overlooking Paris" (April 16). In the pantomime print Napoleon in the garb of Harlequin, a dagger in either hand, leaps through a cavity in the centre of a large picture inscribed *Louis le Bien-Aimé*. From the wall at the side the portrait of Columbine, the Duchess of Angoulême, is being taken down. In the corner are the Imperial throne, crown, and sceptre. The Allied Sovereigns aim fruitlessly at the intruder with pistols and blunderbusses. In the last of these three caricatures Napoleon in a green coat is seen standing on the balcony inscribed, "More horrors, Death and destruction." Behind him is a huge figure of the Devil, who encircles with his arms Napoleon and one of his marshals. Three other officers stand in the background. At his side stands a skeleton. The populace below wave decapitated heads on the ends of spears, which they extend towards the Emperor. On the edge of the balcony are placed various weapons and the hour-glass of Death, whose skeleton finger points significantly to the mob below.

Cruikshank supplied John Fairburn with the caricature, "The Bungling Tinkers, or Congress of Blockheads, who battered a hole in great Europe's Kettle," which served as a heading for a song of eleven verses (April 1815). On a huge cauldron undergoing the process

of tinkering is seen the outline of the map of Europe. The head, shoulders, and arms of Napoleon, his hat in one hand and sword in the other, emerge from a hole beneath the point marked "Elba." He says: "Bonjour, Messieurs! I have no time to lose. Adieu! I'm off. Le Congress est dissout (*sic*)!" The Emperor Alexander, hammer in hand, exclaims:

> "What made the hole, it seems to me,
> Was Prussia's blows at Saxony."

A second tinker, a Prussian, replies:

> "You made that d—d confounded hole
> That let out Nap, upon my soul."

One English envoy exclaims:

> "'Tis warm work, faith I wish we'd here
> A butt of Mister Whitbread's beer."

To which the other replies:

> "D—n Whitbread,
> Let not that hard mouth-dog (*sic*) be named."

The accompanying verses can easily be read in the reproduction of this fine caricature-broadside. Cruikshank also etched another print, "John Bull in alarm, or Boney's escape," for a second broadside, published by Jones & Co. in the eventful spring of 1815. To the right are John Bull and the Allied Sovereigns, who stand before their respective banners, and cry: "Cheer up, old Lewis, for as fast as he kicks you down, we'll pop you up again!" To the left a crowd of soldiers shout "Vive l'Empereur!" while the devil supports Napoleon with

his trident. Below are nine verses, of which the following are examples :—

"Oh ! here are such wonders and wonders !
All the world's in an uproar about it ;
And there are such blunders and blunders,
When I tell you, I'm sure you won't doubt it.

But all our Allies will advance,
And the King's rights most surely regain 'em,
Their armies shall dash through all France
If John Bull will *equip and maintain 'em !*

Then poor Boney, again, must knock under,
Whilst Blücher and Platoff attack him,
And, surely, there's no one can wonder,
Since he's nought but the Devil to back him.

This thief they'll knock down at one blow,
And at *Elba* again *closely skewer up*,
Until John Bull *pays the piper*, you know,
For a second deliverance of Europe !

But says *Glass* in her Cookery so rare,
To make dishes—first rightly begin 'em !
Thus where *eels* form part of the fare,
You must first catch the eels, and then skin 'em."

To the May issue of the *Scourge*[1] Cruikshank contributed "The Phœnix of Elba, resuscitated by Treason." In this elaborate print Napoleon as a phœnix rises from a cauldron at the invocation of a singularly forbidding witch, who says: "Rise, Spirit, that can never rest. Offspring of Treason. Sweet bloodthirsty soul, come forth !" A fairy in the clouds holds a diadem in one hand and a guillotine in the other, saying: "Rise ! Rise ! thou favoured Son of Fate, Death or a Diadem shall reward thy labour." To the left is seen the Prince

[1] Vol. ix. p. 321.

Regent, seated on a divan in convenient proximity to a decanter. Lord Castlereagh hands him two cards, one announcing the decision of the Congress, the other the return of Boney to Paris. He says: "May it please my Prince, but these are events we never calculated upon. I had no objection to the sacrifice of Saxony to the ambition of Prussia, I had no objection to the views of Alexander upon Poland, I had no objection to the transfer of Norway to Sweden, I had no objection to the union of Belgium with Holland. I had no objection to all these things, but I could not foresee that the people could be dissatisfied and wish for the return of Bonaparte, to which I have every objection." The Prince rejoins: "How—shall I lose Hanover, shall I lose all we have been fighting for?" In the upper right-hand corner is a vignette of the Congress, labelled, "Solomon's Temple." Each delegate claims something. Wellington is riding to Belgium from Vienna; Louis XVIII. on an ass gallops towards the same country exclaiming: "Gee up, Neddy, adieu to the lily in the violet season—adieu to my good city of Paris." Round the cauldron, which is encircled by a serpent vomiting "War" and "Flame," dance four of Napoleon's marshals, shouting: "Ha! Ha! we shall begin our bloody work again." On either side soldiers, wearing Phrygian caps, exclaim: "Vive l'Empereur!"

Discussions in Parliament doubtless helped to give zest to Cruikshank's "A New Way to enforce an Argument, see Mr. Whitbread's speech on the return of Bonaparte from Elba, April 20, 1815" (Humphrey, May 3). The scene is the House of Commons. On the Treasury Bench sits Lord Castlereagh with a packet, labelled "Secrets

The BUNGLING TINKERS! or, CONGRESS of BLOCKHEADS!

Who Battered a Hole in Great Europe's Kettle.

1.

Hail, most illustrious *State Tinkers,**
From Ind who are no idle shrinkers!
Brave artizans of skill and mettle,
Who swore to mend *great Europe's kettle* ;

2.

Said you would make it tight and sound,
And free from flaw inside and out,—
A job—by Tinkers ne'er surpassed,
A job—that should for ages last!

3.

Cried AUST——A, tucking up his sleeves,
" My brother-workmen, by your leaves,
" My portion of the job shall be
" The goodly spot, call'd *Italy.*'

4.

" With all my heart," did PRUS——A say,—
" At Saxony I'll thump away :"
" And I," said RUS——A, spite of clamour,
" At *Poland* will not cease to hammer.

5.

Said I.—"FRANCIS, " I am not shy
" For work or hurt ; but a peg-tribb
" You'll find me ready with the *stuff* ;
" For *Engl*——d, sure, that's pretty enough ;—

6.

" But do, mayhap, you think to cut,
" Here's *Honour*,——a little spot
" To ENGLAND, as you've justly will'd it,
" With your permission I will *gild it.*"

7.

Away to work they went, pell mell,
With thundering sound the hammers fell ;
The Kettle—odes they bruis'd and batter,
All ears are deafen'd with the clatter!

8.

With shouts of joy all quarters rang,
To hear each fr——l hammer clang ;
Till *Ethe—lreginlet Gap* display'd,
The *hole they'd in the kettle* made.

9.

AUST—— rais'd cap——His hammer dropped,
When from the *hole* there quickly popp'd
A man, that made them all to start ;—
Who could it be?—Your *Bonaparte!*

10.

They scarce believe their eyes and ears,
He nods and cries—" *Bon jour Messieurs!*
" I have no time to lose,——adieu ;
" I'm off——*to Congress at Assist* "

11.

" The Lion (you consider'd him tied!)
" Has all your hostile efforts foil'd,
" Through down a stile, I'll let you see
" You——*poor tar Sol.*"

* See Punch, Punch's Pocket-Book, &c.—I. LOGGERHEADS, or, the CONGRESS of STATE TINKERS, Plate to 48.

Published by JOHN FAIRBURN, 4, Broadway, Ludgate-Hill. *(Price One Shilling, coloured.)*

By George Cruikshank, March, 1815

of Congress," protruding from his pocket. Amongst the Opposition one recognises Burdett and others. Whitbread the brewer, clad as a pot-boy, advances menacingly towards the Minister, and thrusting into his mouth a roll of paper, entitled "Recapture of Paris and the Imperial Throne," says: "Yes, Sir, I do insist that those who justified their own misdeeds by their success should also allow the misdeeds of others to be justified by their success, and they who could swallow Copenhagen down might well swallow the recapture of Paris and the imperial throne. So swallow it, you stammerer." In the other hand he holds a pewter pot inscribed, "Whitbread's Entire," the contents of which fall on the ground, the oft-repeated words, "Vive l'Empereur" being distinguishable in the froth. Burdett shouts, "Make him swallow it." The Speaker calls them to order.

"The Gout, the King, and the Doctor" (R. Harrild, May 1815) is also the work of George Cruikshank. The French King is represented as a giant suffering from gout. Napoleon, seated on one instep, is surrounded by monkey imps, who are probing the King's limbs. The Allies on the left are vainly trying to sweep them off. Rowlandson's "Vive le Roi! Vive l'Empereur! Vive le Diable!" (Ackermann, May), gives a very good idea of the political condition of France on the return of Napoleon. A French soldier, musket in hand, wears a hat decked with ribbons. On one side of his head are the words, "French constancy"; on the other, "French integrity." Below the former is a windmill, lettered "French stability." He holds in his left hand a snuff-box, under which a monkey and cat are embracing.

Above them is the device "French Union, between the National Guard and the troops of the line."

For June 1, when Wellington was in the thick of his plans for resisting Napoleon in the Netherlands, Cruikshank provided the *Scourge*[1] with the plate "Preparing for War." In it we see Lord Castlereagh and Louis XVIII. making ready a chained bull for sacrifice on a funeral pile, bearing the inscription, "Sacred to the Bourbon cause, and dedicated to the downfall of illegitimate Tyranny." The animal sinks under a load of taxes. Castlereagh endeavours to console it for the final blow which is to come from a gigantic axe labelled "New War Taxes." One horn of the bull is covered with the cap of liberty, the other with that of libel. "Alas!" cries the dying animal, "must I come to this? Have I bled for so many years in your service, and will you now take my life?" The Prince Regent in the lower left-hand corner looks on indifferent, surrounded by tailors, barbers, valets, and corset-makers. His hair is being curled. His chief anxiety is for the state of his whiskers. In the upper right-hand corner Bonaparte on horseback orders the dogs of war to be let loose. The foremost hounds are called "Rapine" and "Murder." The general who sets them free shouts, "Here is a glorious pack already snifting (*sic*) human blood and fresh for slaughter. On, comrades! The word is Buonaparte—Belzebub—Blood."

The satire in this case was certainly two-edged. Six days before Waterloo T. Palser published "A Thunderbolt for Boney," in which a bursting shell is depicted destroying a crowned serpent. On the very eve of the

[1] Vol. ix. p. 403.

AN ERUPTION OF MOUNT VESUVIUS
By Georg Cruikshank, June 17, 1815

battle (June 17) Mistress Humphrey scored heavily with Cruikshank's prophetic caricature, then bearing the modest title of "An Eruption of Mount Vesuvius and the anticipated effects of the approaching Storm."[1] In the background is seen the good city of Paris in flames. On the extreme left is Mount Vesuvius, the city of Naples at its foot. The volcano belches forth flame and smoke, from which fall headlong the bodies of Murat and his consort, while the crown descends on the head of its rightful owner. In the bay of Naples are anchored ships with the English ensign flying above the French tricolour. In the centre a desperate fight is going on, in the course of which Napoleon is thrown violently from his horse, while many of his followers lie wounded on the ground. In the extreme left-hand corner appears a dove with the olive branch in its mouth, and in the clouds immediately below it are seen the heads of the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, Louis XVIII., Blücher and Wellington, who propel wind, rain, and lightning on the head of their adversary. The lines below the caricature are as follows :—

"Dark lowers the sky; the clouded air
Portends the dire approaching shock;
Rapine results, and grim despair
Laughs wildly from his barren rock!
But soon shall peace from darkness breaking
Smile brightly o'er our glorious Isle;
And soon indignant thunder waking,
From France shall tear a yoke so vile."

[1] There are three states of this plate, all of which the writer has seen. THE FIRST STATE reads as above, "*The Effects of the Approaching Storm.*" THE SECOND STATE (*after the first news of the defeat*) reads, "*Effects of the —— Storm.*" THE THIRD STATE (*after the battle received its historic name*) reads, "*Effects of the Waterloo Storm.*" It is the first of these three which is now reproduced.

Never was the anticipation of pictorial satire (and instances of it constantly occur) more rapidly fulfilled. Several other caricatures appeared in London on the day preceding Waterloo. In "John Bull come to the Bone" (Tegg, June 17) are depicted an Englishman who, while placidly smoking his pipe, addresses a Frenchman (possibly Napoleon), saying: "Why look you, Mounseer, parleyvou; though I've got thinner myself, I have a little sprig of oak in my hand. That's as strong as ever, and if you give me any of your parlewer, I'll be d—d if you should feel the wait (*sic*) of it." The Frenchman replies: "By gar, Mister John Bull, you var much altar; should not know you var Jon. I am as big as you now." It was the spirit symbolised by the "little sprig of oak" which stood England in good stead during the struggle, of which Tennyson has written:

> "A day of onsets of despair!
> Dash'd on every rocky square
> Their surging charges foam'd themselves away."

The designer of "A Scene on the Frontier" (Tegg, June 17) proved hardly as good a prophet as "Glorious George." In this print we see Bonaparte behind the guns of a frontier fortress, with the Allies below him. Bonaparte cries: "Here's your work, huzza." Wellington replies: "I long to be at him." The Emperor Alexander exclaims: "I hear we have given him too much time"; but Blücher cries: "I'll powder his jacket for him!" On the rear is a hill crowned with a row of gibbets. The carnage of Waterloo is foreshadowed in "A Pair of Spectacles easily seen through." A gigantic and ghastly skeleton holding a noose is beckoning

He ought not to grumble since we have given him such a warm reception
Begar I dont like dis Warm Situation.
He was discontented with a Cold Reception and he is displeased with a warm one: D—n him he is never content.

Boney in a Stew!!

Napoleon to his doom. Behind is a gibbet and a crowd of soldiers.

The news of the defeat of Napoleon cannot possibly have influenced the design of "A Lecture on Heads as Delivered by Marshalls (*sic*) Blücher and Wellington" (S. Knight, June 21). In this print we see Blücher with the head of Napoleon on the point of his sword, while Wellington, holding a French eagle in one hand, runs him through with the other. Derisive exclamations are put in the mouths of each. The French are in full flight, and one of the numerous decapitated heads in the plate cries: "Oh *diable*, I've lost my body."

As might be expected, M'Cleary now pirated the last version of the "Death of the Corsican Fox."[1] There is again a brisk demand for "transparencies" in London, and Rowlandson lost no time in preparing one for Ackermann. Napoleon, seated on a white horse, is galloping furiously. Fighting is going on in the distance. Wellington and Blücher, also mounted, ride towards Napoleon. The one threatens him with a blunderbuss, and the other with a drawn sword. Napoleon's crown falls from his head. The Gallic cock takes to flight. It was scarcely as happy as the one designed in honour of Leipzic. Neither Cruikshank nor any of the English caricaturists showed the fallen Emperor any mercy. He was soundly castigated in plates like "Monkey's Allowance—more Kicks than Dumplings," "Royal Doctors bringing Boney to Pot,"[2] and "Johnny Bull a Cobbler, and Bonaparte his Lapstone." Napoleon was now in a dilemma from which deliverance was im-

[1] See Appendix A, 261.

[2] Another recurrence of a very unsavoury theme. See Appendix A, 80.

possible. There was no escaping from the "stew" of Waterloo. Marks is responsible for the caricature, "Boney in a Stew," now reproduced in colours (S. Knight, July 1815). Napoleon in a huge cauldron, beneath which the fire of Waterloo is burning, shouts: "Begar, I don't like dis warm situation." On the right stands Wellington, to the left Blücher, who both indulge in uncomplimentary remarks on the "warm situation" of their adversary. The former would certainly have made it still warmer if he could.

The caricatures which deal with Napoleon's surrender to Captain Maitland on July 15, and the events it subsequently led to, will be considered in the next chapter. The elaborate and delicately executed plate, "The Ex-Emperor in a Bottle," published on August 25, 1815, by J. Jenkins, 48 Strand, which served either as an advertisement or frontispiece for the work *The Martial Achievements of Great Britain and her Allies*, relates rather to the battle of Waterloo than to its ultimate consequences. In this case the portrait of the ex-Emperor is an adaptation of Isabey's well-known Malmaison painting. He is surrounded by eight figures. On one side stand the Emperors of Austria and Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Prince Regent, who holds aloft the picture of a cannon, inscribed "Martial Achievements." On the other are Wellington, Platoff, Schwartzenberg, and Blücher, the last pointing triumphantly to the captive monarch. Louis XVIII. kneels before his Allies, returning thanks to heaven for his "good deliverance." Below run the following verses:—

"Ambition's dread career at length is o'er,
And weeping Europe hopes for peace once more;
Sovereigns in arms at length the world have freed,
And Britain's warlike sons no more shall bleed;

English issue of a French caricature, September 1, 1815

The great Napoleon now resigns his sway
And in a bottle sealed is borne away.

England's great Prince whom Europe does confess
The potent Friend of Freedom in distress,
With ALLIES brave to the world impartial
Sealed up their foe with ACHIEVEMENTS MARTIAL,
That he no more disturb the tranquil world,
Nor be again his bloody flag unfurled.

'Twas Alexander Great, of generous mind,
With zealous Frederick, who to peace inclined,
Resolved, with Francis, in propitious hour
To free Old Gallia from the Despot's power;
Her tyrannic Lord from rule is driven
And grateful Louis offers thanks to Heaven.

The MARSHAL HEROES next a tribute claim,
First Wellington, immortal in his fame,
And Blücher, who, for valour long renowned,
Compelled the tyrant's legions to give ground.
The cautious Swartzenberg (*sic*) of wise delays,
And the brave Platoff ask their share of praise." [1]

On September 1, Smeeton published, presumably from a French original,[2] the caricature portrait of Napoleon now on his way to St. Helena, which was styled "General Sans Pareil," and is reproduced as an illustration. Below it is given the following explanatory text: "The above portrait of Buonaparte may be considered an emblematical Index of his extraordinary Life. The Design reflects the highest credit on the Artist, who is a Frenchman; he has judiciously formed the Hat of the different *Crowns* which Buonaparte put on other Men's

[1] Below is an advertisement of the well-known book of colour-plates *The Martial Achievements*, of which the elephant 4to edition is offered to subscribers at one guinea and large paper copies at two. These books now fetch about £10 to £15 respectively.

[2] According to Dr. A. Bertarelli this print was of German origin, but M. John Grand-Cartaret pronounces its origin to be French.

tember 6), may be regarded as an appropriate sequel to the many caricatures relating to the "glorious 18th of June," 1815. It is one of those conceptions in which the young artist, who was now only twenty-three, shows himself the worthy successor of the great Gillray, by whose graveside he had stood a fortnight before Waterloo. A diligence, covered with fleurs-de-lis, drawn by four horses, and bearing on the central panel the words "Les Lis, from Brussells to Paris," is taking back the exiled King of France from Ghent to his capital. The postilions carry the flags of Austria, England, and Prussia. Wellington and Blücher on the box shout "Vive le Roi!" In the dickey sit the Emperors Alexander and Francis. Miniature cannon protrude from the side of the vehicle, on the top of which is a castle, filled with soldiers and surmounted with a white flag, inscribed "Louis XVIII." Napoleon, crushed by the foremost horse, falls helpless on a tricolour flag with eagle and sword broken. Wounded and even decollated French soldiers shout "Vive l'Empereur!" and on the forts in the background the tricolour flag is still flying. Some of them were still flying on July 15, when Napoleon penned his historic letter to the Prince Regent in which he compared himself to Themistocles. When Cruikshank's caricature was published he was in mid-ocean, somewhere between the Canary Islands and the Equator.

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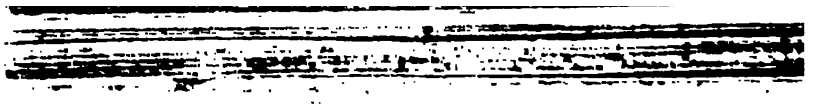

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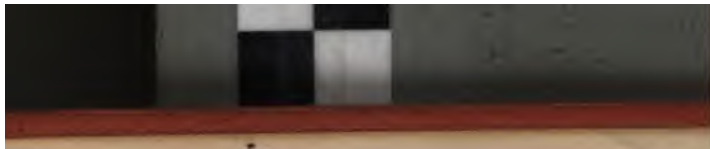

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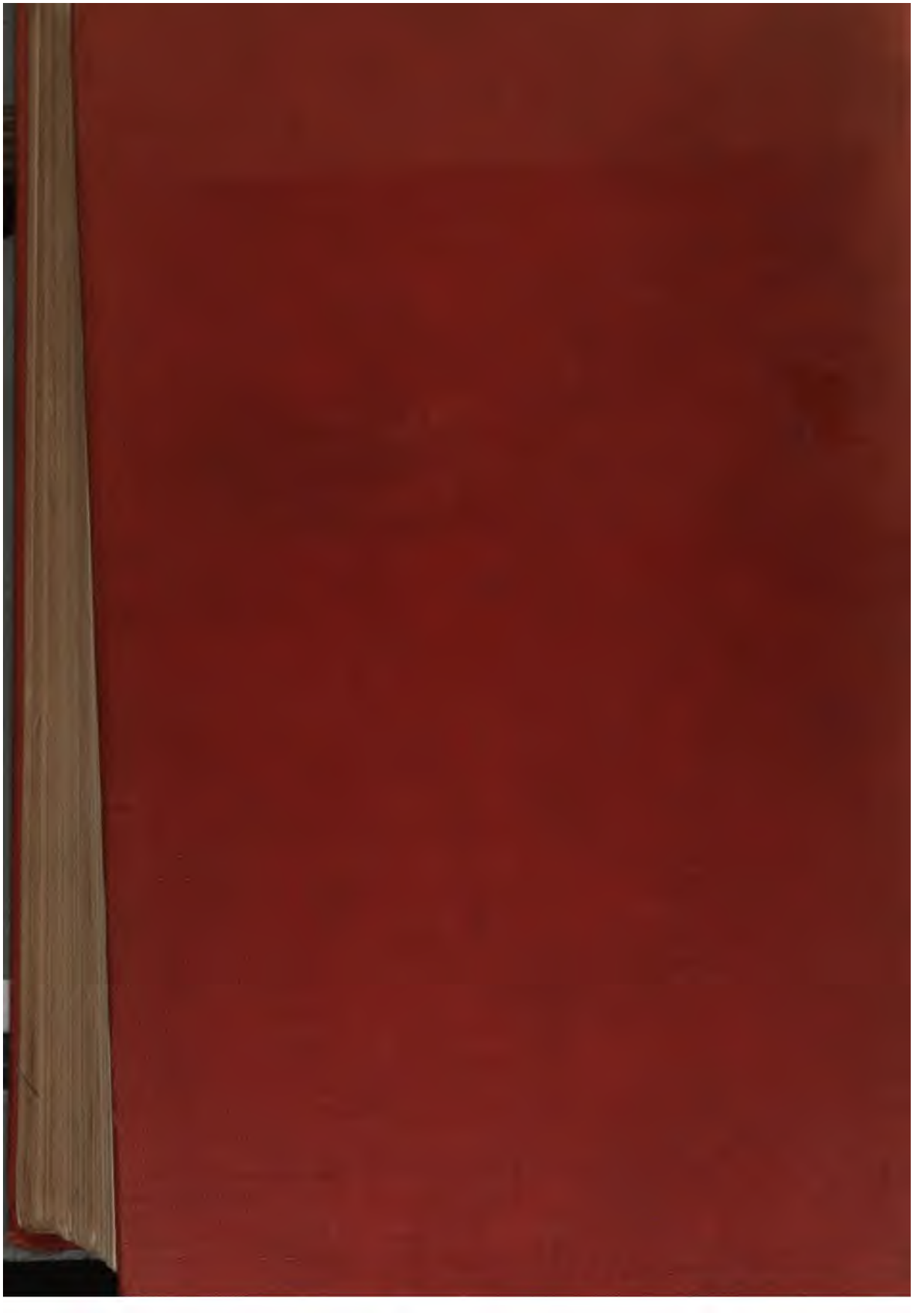
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